
LONDON
1890
1900

LIFE AND LABOUR

OF THE

PEOPLE IN LONDON

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OF THE

PEOPLE IN LONDON

BY

CHARLES BOOTH

ASSISTED BY

JESSE ARGYLE, ERNEST AVES, GEO. E. ARKELL
ARTHUR L. BAXTER, GEORGE H. DUCKWORTH

Third Series: Religious Influences

THE CITY OF LONDON AND THE WEST END

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THE CITY OF LONDON AND THE WEST END

PART I

THE CITY OF LONDON

Date of the Inquiry in the City: 1898

TO THE READER

During the rather long period necessarily occupied in completing this work, various changes have taken place. Wherever possible, the more important of these have been indicated, but otherwise the facts have not been corrected to date of publication.

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCHES

§ 1

The City churches must be considered collectively; for though there is among them much individuality that is both valuable and suggestive, they are most of them subject to the disability of lack of resident parishioners, while surrounded by the throngs of those who spend their working days in the neighbourhood. Thousands may pass and repass the very doors of the church, but few there be who enter, though it is not too much to say that any occurrence of interest—a horse down or a man in a fit, the vagaries of a crazy woman or the capture of a thief, would in a few seconds attract a crowd greater than most of these churches ever hold.

There are no less than fifty-four of them besides St. Paul's Cathedral, and a discussion of the part which these churches play, or might play, will also throw some light on the whole subject of religious influence. But before proceeding with this general view it will be desirable to state briefly the case for each church separately. I shall take them in groups according to situation.*

* I am indebted to *London City Churches*, by A. E. Daniell (Arch. Constable & Co., 1896) for much of the historical information here used.

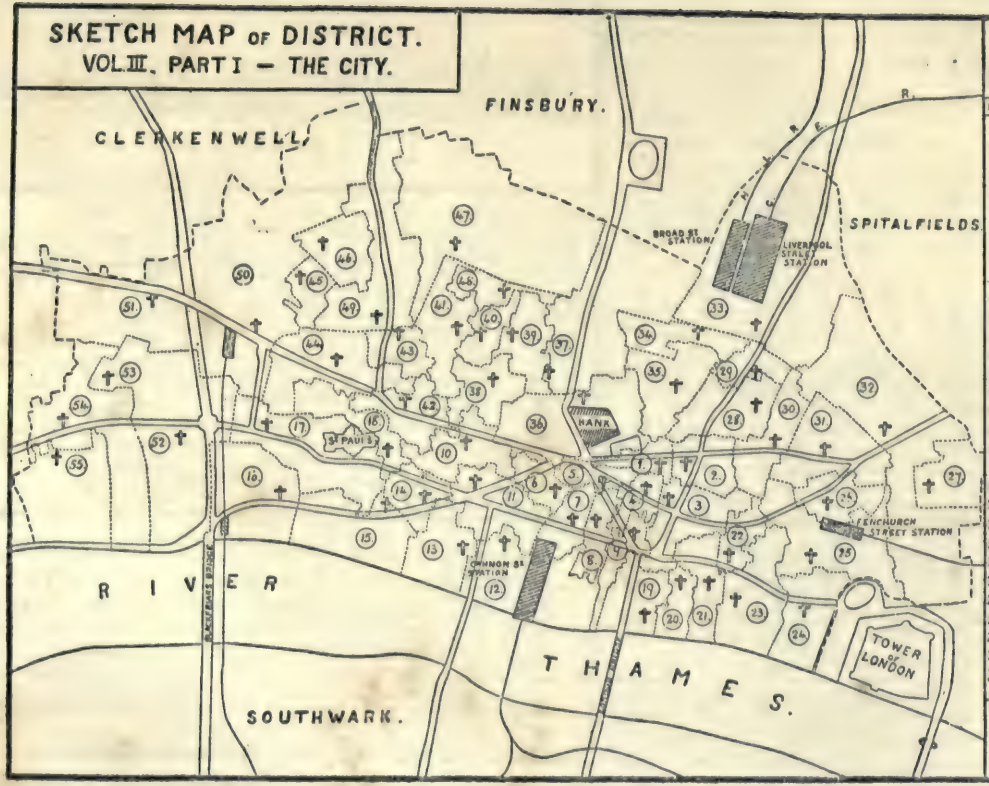
§ 2

The Church of St. Michael, Cornhill (1), which stood in the 'littell greene churchyard' where Thomas Stow the elder desired to be buried, was rebuilt after the Great Fire, and though the tower may not be so much in view as was the spire it replaced, yet it is one of the most prominent objects in the City, seen from almost all sides above the buildings in which it and its still green churchyard are embedded. Within, the church is commodious and very smart, with gilded capitals and painted glass, but whatever charm the building may once have had has been improved away by Sir Gilbert Scott's restoration. An ornate gothic door marks the entrance from Cornhill.

There is here an evident and not unsuccessful effort to fill a place as a City church. Twice a week, on week-days, there is a service at 1.15, with special addresses from noted preachers, each of whom usually gives a course. The object is to secure the attendance of men in their lunch hour, and so bring their daily lives under the influence of religion. No doubt the attendance varies greatly with the reputation of the preacher, but as a rule it is disappointingly small. On one Wednesday we counted twenty persons—ten women, nine men and a boy—on another there were only five women and four men present. So large a proportion of women in a City audience is remarkable.

On Sunday the numbers are considerably larger. In the evening the church is fairly full, and it does not look empty in the morning. There is about this church an air of pleasant welcome that goes for much, and on Sunday there are many passers by in Cornhill, but after all the total numbers attending are not very great. There is not much parish work to be done, but the congregation probably includes a proportion of

SKETCH MAP OF DISTRICT.
VOL. III. PART I — THE CITY.



POPULATION [1891] OF ECCLESIASTICAL PARISHES.

No	Name of Parish	Pop'n	No	Name of Parish	Pop'n
1.	St Michael Cornhill	198	31	St Katharine Coleman	804
2	St Peter	162	32	St Botolph Aldgate	6046
3	All Hallows	313	33	St Botolph Bishopsgate	3078
4	St Edmund the K.	172	34	All Hallows-on-the-Wall	183
5	St Mary Woolnoth	208	35	St Peter-le-Poer	342
6	St Stephen Walbrook	124	36	St Margaret Lothbury	543
7	St Swithin	217	37	St Stephen Coleman Street	1038
8	St Mary Abchurch	224	38	St Lawrence Jewry	226
9	St Clement	216	39	St Michael Bassishaw	127
10	St Mary-le-Bow	253	40	St Mary Aldermanbury	102
11	St Mary Aldermary	393	41	St Alban Wood Street	299
12	St Michael Royal	223	42	St Vedast Foster	260
13	St James Garlickhithe	253	43	St Anne & Agnes Gresham	133
14	St Mildred Poultry	53	44	Christchurch Newgate St.	981
15	St Nicholas Cole Abbey	322	45	St Bartholomew-the-Less	847
16	St Andrew	898	46	St Bartholomew-the-Great	1843
17	St Martin Ludgate	756	47	St Giles Cripplegate	2090
18	St Augustine Watling St.	390	48	St Alphage London Wall	66
19	St Magnus	298	49	St Botolph Aldersgate	2449
20	St George	168	50	St Sepulchre	3726
21	St Mary-at-Hill	173	51	St Andrew	4,152
22	St Margaret Pattens	116	52	St Bride	1809
23	St Dunstan-in-the-East	395	53	Holy Trinity	1260
24	All Hallows Barking	447	54	St Dunstan-in-the-West	1440
25	St Olave Hart St.	364	55	The Temple	191
26	St Katharine Coleman	237			
27	Holy Trinity Minories	301			
28	St Helen Bishopsgate	353			
29	St Ethelburga Bishopsgate	158			
30	St Andrew Undershaft	218			

TOTAL [1891] 42,638
DECREASING TO [1901] 30386

POSITION OF CHURCHES IS MARKED THUS - ✝

FOR OTHER STATISTICS SEE BACK OF MAP.

STATISTICS *bearing on the* AREA INCLUDED IN SKETCH MAP NO. 9. *Described in Part I. (Vol. III.).*

CENSUS STATISTICS.

Showing Increase or Decrease of Population.

Population in				Decrease per Cent.	
1881.	1891.	1896.	1901.	1881-1891.	1891-1901.
51,405	38,320	31,711	27,664	25·5 %	27·8 %

Density of Population.	
1891.	1901.
Persons per Acre.	
57·0	40·8
Inhabited Houses.	
5,368	3,934
Persons per House.	
7·1	7·0
Number of Acres.	
672	

Age and Sex in 1891.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Together.
Under 5 years	1,383	1,488	2,871
5 & under 15 yrs	3,474	2,862	6,336
— 20 ,,	2,639	2,169	4,808
— 25 ,,	2,847	2,392	5,239
— 35 ,,	3,246	3,277	6,523
— 45 ,,	2,291	2,295	4,586
— 55 ,,	1,718	1,933	3,651
— 65 ,,	1,081	1,391	2,472
65 and over	642	1,192	1,834
Totals ...	19,321	18,999	38,320

NOTE.—Minor changes have been made in the boundaries of the City under the London Government Act (1899), and the Middle Temple formerly reckoned in the Strand Registration area is now included in the City.

SPECIAL ENUMERATION FOR THIS INQUIRY (1891).

Sex, Birthplace and Industrial Status of Heads of Families.

Sex.		Birthplace.		Industrial Status.			Total Heads.
Male.	Female.	In London.	Out of London.	Employers	Employees	Neither.	
5,556 71 %	2,294 29 %	3,868 49 %	3,982 51 %	982 13 %	5,372 68 %	1,496 19 %	7,850 100 %

Constitution of Families.

Heads.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total in Families.
7,850 (1·0)	9,180 (1·17)	12,616 (1·61)	1,633 (·21)	31,279 (3·99)

Social Classification according to *Rooms Occupied* or *Servants Kept.*

	Persons.	Per Cent.	
4 or more persons to a room	2,123	5·5	Crowded 26·9 %
3 & under 4 ,, ,,	2,890	7·5	
2 & ,, 3 ,, ,,	5,338	13·9	
1 & ,, 2 ,, ,,	7,051	18·4	Not Crowded 73·1 %
Less than 1 person to a room	1,411	3·7	
Occupying more than 4 rooms	6,085	15·9	
4 or more persons to 1 servant	2,385	6·2	
Less than 4 persons to 1 servant & 4 to 7 persons to 2 servants	1,637	4·3	
All others with 2 or more servants	726	1·9	
Servants in families	1,633	4·3	
Inmates of Institutions (including servants)	7,041	18·4	
Total	38,320	100	
Living in Poverty (as estimated in 1889)		31·5 %	100 %
,, in Comfort (,, ,,)		68·5 %	

the caretakers and their families, who are the only resident population.

A few yards further East is St. Peter's (2), traditionally the premier church of England ; rebuilt, like St. Michael's and most of those to be described later, by Sir Christopher Wren after the Great Fire, and, though not itself exactly beautiful, stamped, as are all Wren's churches, with a certain stateliness. The parish counts a population of between one hundred and two hundred, all caretakers of buildings; there is not one resident ratepayer. That the families of some of these caretakers attend is evident from the fact that the small Sunday evening congregation includes a number of children. For morning service the numbers are usually very small, but here, as at St. Michael's, there is an evident expectation of worshippers, which is more than can be said of many of the City churches. Midday 'lectures,' which are in effect religious services, are given on Wednesdays and Thursdays. On the occasion of our visit, the Wednesday lecturer was a famous evangelical preacher, and the audience reached about one hundred, but on Thursday, in addition to a small choir of boys, there were only two men present. The title 'lecture' is a misnomer for addresses which differ in no way from staple pulpit utterances of twenty minutes' duration.

Again a few yards, this time to the South, and we come to All Hallows', Lombard St. (3) ; remarkable as being the sole survivor of four churches, the parishes of which have been consolidated. The ten bells of St. Dionis', which was one of them, now hang in the tower of All Hallows' ; a church that must needs make itself heard as it can with difficulty be seen, even its tower being hardly visible above the tall office buildings by which it is surrounded. It is a quaintly shaped church, without aisles or columns, chiefly lighted from the roof, and contains a carved pulpit and a beautiful

font. There are two approaches, one through a narrow passage from Lombard Street, which gives upon a little railed-in space beside the church door, and another from Gracechurch Street. The church has a full choir, but the usual congregations are extremely small; about twenty persons in addition to the choir being present in the morning, and a still smaller number on Sunday evening. At this church the Litany, or a portion of it, is read on Wednesdays and Fridays at 1.15. This is accomplished with what can only be described as a very business-like dispatch, the whole service, including a hymn, being over in seven minutes. On the occasion of our visit the others present were one man and one woman, in addition to the organist, who prolonged the service by a voluntary on his instrument, which is a fine one. On another occasion we found a congregation of ten persons, half being women. In addition to these rather perfunctory efforts, this church has from time to time organized a series of special week-day services for men with sermons by famous preachers, which have been well attended.

In Lombard Street, a few yards to the west of All Hallows', we come to the church of St. Edmund the King and Martyr (4). To this church was added the parish of St. Nicholas Acon, of which the church was not rebuilt after the Fire. It had stood very near, in what is still St. Nicholas Lane. St. Edmund's is internally unattractive, but it maintains a pulpit reputation and gathers fair congregations on Sunday, while enough come to the services four times a week to justify these enterprises, and quite large numbers have attended special series of lectures arranged during Lent. There is a fine organ. The ritual is moderately high. This church had, and has lost to the City Parochial Charities, an annual income available for charitable purposes of £4000, which, it is claimed, was not 'ill-spent before.' A suffi-

cient income still remains to carry on with dignity and success the work I have described.

Again, a few yards to the westward—it is noteworthy how very close together all these churches are—stands St. Mary Woolnoth (5). The earlier building was repaired after the Fire, but did not last long, and the present church was built fifty years later. It is a rather remarkable little temple, with nothing particularly ecclesiastical about it, especially since the alterations that have necessarily followed upon the undermining of the whole building for the construction of the electric railway station beneath, access to which is found at either side of the church door, suggestive, somewhat, of a private entrance to the infernal regions. The interior of the church is resplendent with its new decorations. The congregation, on the Sunday morning when we saw it, besides about twelve men and boys in the choir, consisted of twenty-seven adults and about twelve children with their parents, who might be of the shopkeeping or caretaker class. This church was narrowly saved from destruction, having been scheduled for that purpose in the railway bill, which only encountered opposition on this point at the last moment. Its position at the corner of Lombard Street and King William Street, facing the Mansion House and the Bank of England, would be of enormous value for commercial purposes; but this consideration was (quite rightly, as I think) disregarded. To this parish, at the time of the Fire, another was added, of which the church, that of St. Mary Woolchurch-Haw, stood on the site now occupied by the Mansion House.

Very near again to St. Mary Woolnoth's stands St. Stephen's, Walbrook (6), and to St. Stephen's, in the consolidation after the Fire, passed the benefice of St. Benet Sherehog, which had stood opposite in Size Lane, but was not rebuilt. Upon the rebuilding

of St. Stephen's, Wren lavished his genius, and the result is an extremely beautiful domed structure with five aisles. Here, with a good organist, a good organ, and a full choir, a great point is made of music. Twice a week there are organ recitals in the dinner hour, to which many come; entering, staying awhile, and leaving again during the performance, which consists of several pieces. On another day in each week a lecture is given. The one we heard was on 'National Education,' and lasted some forty minutes, being listened to with evident interest by an audience of about twenty-five. The congregations attracted on Sunday are not large, but the church does not look empty, and in one way or another plays its part in the life of the City. A friend who often attends the musical recitals speaks of the music as exquisite. There is, he says, no church in the City where the musical effect is so fine. 'The sound appears to rise from the choir, striking the dome, to fall back upon the congregation, like a fountain rising and breaking into spray as its waters descend again.'

St. Swithin's by London Stone (7), St. Mary Abchurch (8), and St. Clement's, Eastcheap (9), complete the group of churches in the essentially 'office' district of the City. Of these three, St. Swithin's is at once the most prominently situated, and the most active. It occupies an excellent position directly opposite Cannon Street Station, but is without architectural charm, having lost through renovations any it may once have had. It secures a small congregation on Sunday, and provides a mid-day service, with sermon, on Wednesday, at which, on the occasion of our visit, there were present five men and one woman. This service is followed by an organ recital, beautifully rendered, and sometimes prolonged for fully an hour, to listen to which others will drop in; but the recital probably suffers more in the number

of its audience than the service which precedes it gains by the association of the two.

St. Mary Abchurch, an exquisitely proportioned domed church without any columns, is open daily for prayer, but no one comes; and though there is a full choir, the congregation on Sunday may usually be counted in units. No week-day service is attempted.

St. Clement's is a church without charm of any kind, and looks very bare and empty on Sunday morning, with a congregation which ranged, when twice visited by us, from two to half a dozen, besides the pew opener. A service is given at mid-day on Wednesday, attended by about the same number of faithful parishioners, with two clergy, three choir boys, and the organist. On Sunday the congregation is eked out by a fairly strong choir.

To each of these three parishes another was joined at the time of the Great Fire. To the share of St. Swithin's fell St. Mary Bothaw, and to St. Mary Abchurch reverted St. Lawrence Pountney, the ancient churchyard of which is still to be seen, a very curious sight among the tall blocks of offices which surround it. To St. Clement's was added the parish of St. Martin Ongar. None of their churches were restored, except the last, which, for a century or two, was used by the French Protestants; but it is now no longer standing.

The nine churches which remain in this little district represent, in all, only half the number which stood upon the same ground before the Fire. It seems that the eighteen were not needed then or more would have been rebuilt, and many will say the same about the nine now. But there is a fundamental difference in the situation. Then the question was, shall we rebuild? but now it is, shall we destroy? Or is it not rather to be asked, how can we use?

§ 3

Between the ancient course of the Walbrook and that of the stream which ended in the Fleet, to the south of Newgate and Cheapside, lies another group of churches, with St. Paul's Cathedral in the centre.

St. Mary-le-Bow, or Bow Church (10),* is the best known of all these, not only in virtue of tradition and nursery rhyme, but also from its prominent position in Cheapside, its ever glorious bells, and its towering steeple with winged dragon poised aloft. It is known, too, in our days, for successful efforts made to attract week-day congregations by evangelical preaching. Services are held four times a week, and are often crowded ; the attendance varying according to the popularity of the preacher. Though this parish includes no fewer than five † of those existing before the Fire, its present resident population is less than two hundred and fifty, and no parish work at all is attempted ; even the Sunday services are almost perfunctory. 'A dozen or two may attend,' but more often the numbers are smaller, so that in this respect this church differs little from most of the others.

St. Mary Aldermary (11), which stands in Watling Street near Bow Lane, obtained its distinctive name as the oldest of the 'Mary' churches in the City. It now represents four old parishes, two of which lapsed at the time of the Fire, and one (St. Antholin) since. The church of St. Antholin, which was pulled down only in 1874, had a remarkably beautiful spire, which might, one would think, have been spared to lift the heart and gladden the eye, and remind us of

* Stow states that this name, in Latin 'de arcubus,' came from its being the first church in London built on arches. Hence, too, the 'Court of Arches' which, before the Great Fire, held its sittings here.

† The other four were St. Pancras', Soper Lane; All Hallows', Honey Lane; All Hallows', Bread Street; and St. John the Evangelist, Friday Street.

the past, even if no suitable present use could be found for the church itself.

The rector of St. Mary's, who thus began with two old parishes and now controls four, says he could walk round them all in five minutes. When he came in 1859, his two parishes had a population of twelve hundred, and now that of the four is not over four hundred. In 1859 there were still some resident shopkeepers, but now all these have gone and there remain only caretakers, policemen, and firemen, the guardians of property. For the children of these people there is a Sunday school, and there are clubs for boys and girls, all on a small scale. Success even to this extent is admittedly, and evidently, only possible by 'poaching' on neighbouring parishes. It is, however, beside the mark to talk at all of 'poaching,' when what plainly is wanted is combination in the service of the public by division of function and specialization of work irrespective of these old boundaries.

This church succeeded to an endowment for week-day lecturing, which had appertained to St. Antholin's. There are five lecturers employed, who must be incumbents of parishes within a certain radius, and the Trust is subject to other conditions not perhaps very wisely conceived. As at St. Peter's, Cornhill, the word lecture is a misnomer. The addresses are ordinary sermons, and doubtless serve a double duty, but interest is taken in them by an audience which may sometimes reach one hundred, but usually stands at about fifty. It is an effort of which the success, though limited, seems to point to one way in which some, at any rate, of the City churches might be used.

The present church was built by Wren, but not in Wren's own style. The lady who found the money desired, for memorial reasons, to repeat the previous Tudor building. St. Mary's Church has thus come to be more a House of God and less a Civic Temple

(according to our notions of to-day) than the rest of Wren's creations. On Sunday morning forty or fifty attend, and in the evening eighty to one hundred. They mostly come from a distance, attracted no doubt by the beauty of the building architecturally, and by the efforts made to bring the Church into the life of the people.

St. Michael Paternoster Royal (12), on College Hill, below Cannon Street, now represents four old parishes. It was Whittington's church, rebuilt in his time at his own charge, and contained his tomb (rifled and desecrated in the reign of Edward VI. by the then rector, in search of treasure). Some of this ancient interest still attaches to the existing building, which was the work of Wren's master mason. The church is open daily for private prayer, but few seem to take advantage of the privilege. On Sunday an extremely small congregation gathers. The field of utility is thus very limited.

St. James Garlickhithe (13), in Upper Thames Street, to which we come next, has absorbed St. Michael Queenhithe (demolished in 1876), and with it inherited also the past of Holy Trinity the Less, a church which, at the time of the Fire, stood in Knightrider Street, but was reconstructed as a Lutheran chapel when the parish was united to St. Michael's. The chapel has long since disappeared. St. James's which contains a deep organ gallery and a fine organ, shows in perfection the combination of stateliness and comfort with which Wren endowed his churches. The building is open daily. Twice a week there are mid-day services, but the attendance at them is extremely small, only three men and three women being present on the occasion of our visit; the attendance on Sunday is considerably larger. There is a Sunday school and Bible-class, and a parish magazine is published. The church is thus not without activity.

St. Mildred's, Bread Street (14), represents also St. Margaret Moses', which was not rebuilt after the Fire, but united these parishes have a resident population of less than fifty. The remains of the notable, and far more numerous, dead interred beneath the floor of St. Mildred's were not long ago removed to Woking Cemetery, and for two years this church, which remains almost as Wren left it, was closed. It has been reopened with some new life. There is a mid-day service on Friday, to which, when we were there, a considerable congregation had been attracted by the preaching of a famous evangelical divine. But the Sunday services are very sparsely attended. There was a congregation of nine on the occasion of our visit.

Near by, between Knightrider Street and Queen Victoria Street, is St. Nicholas Cole Abbey (15), in which are concentrated no less than six ancient parishes. Of these the church of St. Benet still stands; but, disconnected with the Church of England, it is used for Welsh services.

The late incumbent* of this agglomerate parish was a minor canon of St. Paul's, who, when he came to this church, brought with him a large Bible-class to serve as the nucleus of his congregation, and replace (or supplement) the 'six old women' of whom it had previously consisted. He also brought great energy and unconventional methods of work, which were at once Ritualistic and boldly popular. The places of abode of the regular members of his congregation—some two hundred and fifty persons—show that they came to him from all parts of London. The attachment was to the man rather than the church, and any whose daily avocations brought them within reach, he accounted as his parishioners. The result has been that this church is by no means empty on Sunday

* Canon Shuttleworth's death took place after the time of our inquiry.

morning, and is quite full in the evening, when there is an after-service of music. The rector, himself a musician, took great pains to perfect the choir. Large numbers were drawn to the church also in the afternoon, when either a lecture was given or an oratorio performed. On the other hand, week-day services were tried, but given up as useless; but the Tuesday mid-day musical recitals have now had a long and successful record.

The social methods, which were parochial in the same wide sense, were even more highly stamped with originality and success. The rector gave monthly dances at the Cannon Street Hotel, with one big ball annually, and organized a club with six hundred members, of whom about one-third are women. The two sexes share on equal terms all the privileges of this club. Drink is sold, and smoking allowed in all parts except the committee-room and the dining-room. Perfect order is maintained. The members are mostly young people, and marriages among them are not uncommon. No class difficulty is experienced, for those reached in this way, many of whom lunch at the club, are a natural selection from the thousands who spend their working hours in the surrounding streets; nor did any religious difficulty supervene, for religion was hardly ever mentioned; practically it was excluded. Those whose religious feelings demand recognition and expression of such kind were more likely to belong to the Young Men's Christian Association, which has a large establishment near by. It was rather Esau than Jacob that the Shuttleworth Club was intended to attract, and its founder confessed that he liked Esau the better of the two.

Both church and club, each in its own way, have become centres of work and interest; intellectual, social, philanthropic or religious. Some of the more personal adherents of the late rector have fallen away,

but his successor is making a determined and successful effort to maintain the tradition, and almost every one of the items mentioned, except the Sunday afternoon lectures and oratorios, is still to be found on the list. And they are maintained with much of their old vigour. The whole experience of the parish is thus of great interest as showing by example that at any rate something can be done with a City church and among the daily denizens of a City parish.

The Church of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe (16) stands on the north side of Queen Victoria Street near St. Andrew's Hill. The total population in 1901 was six hundred. The Sunday services are attended by a small number of parishioners, and the church is opened daily for private prayer.

St. Martin's, Ludgate (17), and St. Augustine's, Watling Street (18), are the only churches now remaining out of five that clustered round old St. Paul's. Of two of these, St. Faith and St. Gregory, it was quaintly said that St. Paul's was 'truly the mother church, having one babe (St. Faith) in her body and another (St. Gregory) in her arms.' St. Gregory's Church stood close to the south-west wall of the old cathedral, and St. Faith's, only a crypt at the time, was buried in its very structure. Here, when the conflagration began, were hastily deposited the great stores of books from all the bookshops around, but the flames sought them out and destroyed them all. Neither of these churches was rebuilt. That of St. Mary Magdalene, which stood in Old Fish Street, and belonged to the fifth of the parishes surrounding old St. Paul's, was rebuilt after the Great Fire and stood till 1886 when, again injured by fire, it was pulled down.

The spire of St. Martin's Church is a striking feature in the foreground of the great view of St. Paul's from Ludgate Circus (so sadly spoilt by the crossing of

the railway). The church itself stands ineffectively on the north side of Ludgate Hill, buried in other buildings. Its shape is very peculiar, being both higher and broader than it is long. A Sunday morning congregation of a dozen is, perhaps, as much as can be expected when a few steps more will bring the intending worshipper to St. Paul's; but if, on occasion, St. Paul's be full, this church may receive an overflow. The Litany is read here at mid-day on Wednesday and Friday.

St. Augustine's is quite hidden away behind the high buildings that front St. Paul's Churchyard, where St. Paul's school used to stand: it is small, but exquisitely proportioned, and has much of the charm of a college chapel. There is a full choir, and the services on Sunday are well given; but no one comes. We found one man and one woman there when we made our visit.

Again we have reviewed a group of nine City churches; but the ground their parishes occupy is more extensive than that covered by the first group, and on it, at the time of the Fire, besides the cathedral, stood no less than thirty-one churches, of which eleven were not rebuilt at the time and eleven have lapsed since. Of the remaining nine there is only one to which the people come in any numbers, and in that one how unusual are the methods employed! Since the seventeenth century the change is indeed great, other and deeper causes than movement of population are involved; causes connected with our whole attitude towards religion and the part played by it in our daily lives.

St. Paul's suffers far less than the churches. Its services fall in well with the religious needs of many to-day, but its competition is severely felt in the surrounding parishes, both as regards such of the

remaining inhabitants as go to church on Sunday, and also as regards those who might be drawn from a distance to worship in these old fanes. Even for week-day services St. Paul's can offer unequalled attractions, and if the minor churches are to be of any great value it will have to be on altogether different lines.

§ 4

East of London Bridge and south of Fenchurch Street there is a third group of nine churches, if we may count as one of them Holy Trinity in the Minories, and to this group we now pass.

St. Magnus' Church (19), a rather striking building from without, but gloomy within, stands at the bottom of Fish Street Hill. It is open daily throughout the week from twelve to three for 'prayer and meditation,' but, as usual, no one comes; and it is poorly attended on Sunday, eight worshippers comprising the whole congregation on the morning of our visit.

The next parish, St. George's (20), included that of St. Botolph, Billingsgate, of which the church, not rebuilt after the Fire, stood on the south side of Thames Street. St. George's Church in Botolph Lane, a few yards to the north of Thames Street, is now in a dilapidated condition, the result of long neglect, and has for some years been closed for public worship. It turns a blank wall to the world, and a letter-box marked 'for the rector and churchwardens' is the only sign of life.

To this inaction, St. Mary-at-Hill (21), a few yards further East, affords a striking contrast. Again we are given an example of what can be done, provided there be no shrinking from unusual methods in utilizing

these buildings as churches. Its past was like that of so many of the others: burnt down, rebuilt, and allowed to absorb an adjoining parish—in this case that of St. Andrew Hubbard. The church was practically without a congregation when it fell into the hands of its present incumbent, Mr. Carlile, who previously, when a curate in Kensington, had founded the Church Army, the work of which still largely centres in him.

The Church Army is a great organization, with an income amounting to £170,000 a year, and its operations, which extend to all parts of the kingdom, must be considered apart from the work of this, or indeed of any, particular church. Its inner life is deeply religious, but its activities tend (like those of the Salvation Army in London) to become more and more social in character. But, though the work at St. Mary-at-Hill has had its own peculiar developments, it cannot so well be separately considered, for, through the personality of its rector, the connection between the church and the Army is very close, and this personality is reflected more accurately in the development of the former than in that of the latter. The Army, undoubtedly, has a life of its own apart from Mr. Carlile; the work carried on at St. Mary-at-Hill probably has not. It is a strange blend hardly likely to be repeated; but whether or not worthy of imitation, at least worthy of serious study, and I do not hesitate to describe it at some length.

First of all, it is manifestly honest: honest to itself and honest to the public; and, secondly, its aims are as simple and intelligible as the methods adopted to attain them. It is a work of detail. As it seeks to save souls, so it seeks to save bodies, not in the mass, but as units. Its wholesale methods are solely to attract. A 'free club at the rectory for destitute clerks,' and 'free meat suppers on Sunday for forty men' who are outcast enough to seek, and genuine

enough to obtain a ticket; are made the roads by which those amongst these men whose case affords any hope of success are first found, and then either given work here or passed on to some other of the Church Army Homes, at all of which careful selection is the definitely adopted rule. 'To visit the sick, to feed the hungry, and to preach the Gospel to the poor' in the mass, is not the aim expressed. There may be faith in 'the power of the Lord unto salvation,' but it does not rest its claim to a response on the efficacy of 'outpourings of the spirit,' nor dwell upon 'great and manifest blessings vouchsafed to work accepted by God,' as mission language usually runs. No such hopes are put forward; no such miracles seem to be relied on. But the religious impulse is perhaps not the less strong, if, guided by experience and abandoning illusive ideas, it turns again to God for strength and patience in dealing with the human material here present.

This material is mainly rotten, and it must be accounted success if any, if only a very few, out of the selection of a selection to which the care of the Church Army Homes is devoted, are permanently benefited and slip not back into the mud. It is something that even this little should be accomplished; much that the opportunity should be given. The direct appeal made to those who frequent the rectory and eat the Sunday suppers there, is to their sense of manliness and self-respect, or what remains of it. In rousing this sense lies the immediate salvation aimed at. It is found that, save in quite exceptional cases, religion must be reached through these things (if reached at all) and not these things through religion. Such is the lesson taught by experience and admitted by the workers at St. Mary-at-Hill, and not to be gainsaid, I think, by any who deal honestly with themselves and with God in this matter.

For the immediate salvation of souls another net is cast, and it is with this effort we are now more particularly concerned. The first object is to fill the church : and this is how it is accomplished : For the evening service 'doors open at 6.' There is, I understand, an 'early door,' for men only, at 5.50, but I did not myself find it, and I was amongst those, men and women together, who, coming at 5.30, wait patiently, as at the pit entrance of a theatre, for the opening of the doors. Seven o'clock is the time at which the regular service begins, but if the church is full, and if the band and procession, which meanwhile perambulate the streets, have returned, the commencement may be hastened. The preliminary time is occupied with music from the organ, alternated with solo singing and the display of lantern pictures thrown on a sheet stretched across the centre of the church betwixt nave and choir. On the night when I was present views were shown of the Rhine and Danube, interspersed with pictures of sacred scenes pointed with brief sentences or suitable texts, these being either thrown on the screen with the pictures or interleaved (as it were) and left awhile for the spectators to meditate upon. All was in darkness except the illuminated picture or illuminated words, and all in absolute silence and stillness ; not a whisper, not a sound. Yet the church was full !

Perfect order is preserved. The centre, or fully half, of the church is for men by themselves ; one side is for women by themselves, and the other side, with wider space, for those men and women who come together. These last I noticed afterwards, when the church was lighted up, were of a class a little above the others, or at least included those who were so. On the whole it might be best described as a 'popular' audience ; 'pit' rather than 'gallery' in character ; lower middle and working class, earnest, respectable

and well behaved. There were some boys of the gallery kind who rushed in when the doors were opened, but they were intercepted in the vestibule and some special place was allotted to them. They were never audible. There is, indeed, something impressive and quelling in all the arrangements, which even the megaphone—retailing some words of Archbishop Temple in a strange, half-cracked, far away, and yet resonant voice—did not upset, and it was with shame that I felt that I, perhaps alone amongst all those people, was on the verge of laughter.

Such is the ante-service. Then the lights are turned up and the doors again opened. There is no coming in or going out while the church is darkened, and for the definitely religious service that followed all who had been in the church remained, while some more entered, filling up the aisles, where they were provided with camp-stools. Then when all is quiet the lights are once more extinguished in order that the lantern and sheet may again come into operation. There was, I thought, nothing objectionable in these adjuncts, except that the accompanying of the short sentences of the Creed by the rapid flashing before our eyes of a picture of the Divine Persons and momentous events therein recapitulated might have been better omitted. But the great use of the sheet lies in placing before the eyes of all the order of Common Prayer, and the words of the selected hymns. Everyone present seemed to join in the service, sedulously following and quietly repeating together the appointed words; the darkened church, the magic sheet and the subdued voices, all have their effect; the individual is lost in the congregation.

Such is the net; it has been cast, it is full; the words of the Gospel are so far realized. Those caught in it are perhaps not exactly those sought. Many probably are mere chance visitors, attracted

by curiosity, and of these most belong by rights to other churches or are strangers and sightseers in London; others, with unsatisfied religious natures, perhaps find here the spiritual food they seek, of such probably are most of the workers, and to their number may be added converts harvested and retained, not, I should suppose, a very large number. It is, however, probable that many, or perhaps even most, of those present would go to no place of worship if they did not come here. It is upon this mass of the unawakened, the careless and the sinful, that the forces of the Church Army as established here practise all the accustomed and some novel methods of persuasion—High Church and Evangelical, Methodist and Salvationist, confessions and experiences, stimulating hymns and strong personal appeals; all aimed at the one great object to be tested by the counting of souls won for Christ.

Mr. Carlile cares not a jot if his methods shock. He even prefers that they should. To repel some is, he thinks, the only way to win others; and those others the class he desires to win. But even so, he does not succeed in reaching the low class at which he has aimed, and for whose sake what some have called his 'pulpit antics' are practised. Those who come may not be shocked: at any rate, they are not driven away; but I doubt if they are in truth attracted by 'dialogues,' suggestive of Ethiopian minstrels, or appreciate the punctuation of the service by the free use of the trombone which the rector keeps ever handy. He undervalues his people.

In this development of City church utilities, strictly parochial work, for which in any case there would be little scope, is abandoned. A congregation is attracted, it matters not from where, by a service that suits them, interests them, seizes their imagination. They fill the church on Sunday night. From amongst those thus

drawn together, the more earnest join in Communion on Sunday morning and furnish the body of workers upon whom the church relies in all its doings. They march in its processions, they hold mission services in the open air in Petticoat Lane and elsewhere, they provide the bands, both string and brass, and they sing in the choir. The church is their life, and they are the life of the church. The rector is their chief. Through him they are linked to a great national organization. By this he gains, they gain, and the great organization gains; and the public also are benefited by the combination.

The main value of the church to the neighbourhood, to a great extent independent of these wider uses, lies in the service or entertainment, whichever it should be called, offered each week-day (except Saturday) from 1.15 to 1.45: 'Run in and rest awhile, leaving when you choose; magic lantern, with highest devotional art; music with solos by *artistes* vocalists; monstrephone at 1.30, with speeches by Church dignitaries. Tell others and bring your friends': so runs the card of invitation. In addition, coffee is provided (gratis) in the vestibule. Those who come to this entertainment are mainly young men and boys, and they fairly fill the church. It was dark within when I entered. The megaphone was completing its weird task; and a picture, I think it was of the Deluge, hung upon the screen. I was passed into a vacant place, and for ten minutes (it had been half-past one when I entered) watched the pictures, all of sacred subjects and sometimes pointed by a text, succeed each other on the sheet with organ accompaniment, interspersed with the singing of sacred solos; all in darkness, the congregation remaining silent. The only spoken words were a bare announcement of, and invitation to, this daily service. Not till the lights were turned up did I know in the least what the

character of the audience was; except indeed by the atmosphere, which told me that it consisted largely of the sweaty and unwashed.

Religion, though plainly recognised, is allowed to sit lightly upon this gathering, the rector giving a short address once only in each week. But, still, the meeting is in some degree an extension of his net. Some who begin by coming to it may, if they live in the neighbourhood, look in some Sunday night; all the more likely perhaps if they are not urged to do so, and never see the meshes of the net at all. Quite apart from any such chance, it is a good thing in itself that these more or less rough lads should enjoy and profit by, as I am convinced they must and do, the quiet and softening influence of this half-hour. To sit in silence and listen to the music and watch the pictures as they pass, cannot but be good. Is it not what those who 'know how to give good gifts to their children' seek to provide in their own homes? 'Run in and rest awhile, leaving when you choose,' says the invitation, but the last clause is only intended to conquer fears. It would in fact be difficult to get away, but there is no such wish. And the cup of coffee! It is hardly necessary, and may perhaps tend to keep men away, but in the way it is given, is not very demoralizing. It is as the hospitality of the church to its daily neighbours, rather than as an act of religion, that this dinner hour entertainment should be regarded.

The adjacent churches pursue more usual courses, the one on High, the other on Low Church lines. St. Margaret Pattens (22) must be described as one of the more extreme Ritualistic churches of London. To the reading of the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays a few devout persons come. On Sunday the services are fairly well attended, not, of course, by parishioners, of whom there are probably few

come, but by adherents from outside. When visited on the Sunday morning after the death of Queen Victoria, when there was a Memorial Mass, the church was nearly full, but at another time we found a congregation chiefly of women, very devout, but fewer in number than the choir. The celebration on this ordinary occasion was fully choral and exquisitely sung. There had been a procession, and incense hung about the floor in wreaths. The priests looked and seemed to act like those of Rome. In the evening, on the same Sunday, there was a congregation of one hundred or more of men and women, and again the music was most beautiful. The interior has much of the comfortable charm with which Wren endowed so many of his churches.

St. Dunstan in the East (23) has always been a famous church. Of the Wren building only the tower remains. The service here is Low, and in spite of much pains taken, the church is never otherwise than empty; ten to twenty being the usual congregation on Sunday. On every week-day, except Saturday, there is a short mid-day service lasting about eight minutes; and on the occasion of our visit there were three other men present, besides organist and parson.

We now reach at last the limits of the Great Fire in this south-easterly direction and come to the ancient church of All Hallows Barking (24), on Tower Hill, which just, and only just, escaped.* This church has great historical as well as architectural interest, and after

* Pepys relates: "About two in the morning (Sept. 5th, 1666) my wife calls me up and tells me of new cryes of fire, it being come to Barking Church which is at the bottom of our lane. . . . But going to the fire, I find by the blowing up of houses and the great help given by the workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it as well at Mark Lane end as ours; it having only burned the dyall of Barking Church and part of the porch and was there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that ever I saw."

being more than once added to and partially rebuilt, and repaired and renovated time and again, it still retains something of its original Norman solemnity. Wren's buildings might be put equally well to any civic uses, but this building is stamped for ever as sacred to the worship of God.

The church is not without a congregation, partly parochial, partly from outside. It is largely endowed and has a strong body of resident clergy who, beyond their limited parochial duties, devote themselves to wide spheres of work, in preaching, lecturing and writing, the conducting of missions and other similar sustained religious efforts. Writing of this, they hope that the record of ten years' accomplished work 'will show that the opportunities of a City church have not been wholly wasted, and will make it more clear what those opportunities are,' and they conclude humbly by asking 'for any suggestion for improving upon the past,' and beg that the reader 'will add a prayer for God's blessing upon the future of this ancient home of devotion and doctrine.' Although this refers more particularly to outside efforts, parish work, such as remains of it (the only residential court still existing is now to be pulled down) is certainly not neglected. Three kind ladies come to visit, and the people, it is said, 'are very much spoilt.' In this church the Litany is read each day at 1.15, occupying about ten minutes; there were present three men and a woman, besides ourselves, on the occasion of our visit.

St. Olave's, Hart Street (25), is another church of historical interest with no little architectural beauty. It is full of old monuments and wood carving, some of both having been transferred from the demolished churches of All Hallows Staining and St. Benet, Gracechurch Street. The parishioners number three hundred and five, being mainly the caretakers of business

premises. The services of the church offer no particular attractions; for outsiders the situation is too remote and inaccessible. On Sunday morning we found fifteen or twenty people at church, in the evening there might perhaps be more. It is open daily to visitors and for private devotions, and on Thursday there is, or should be, a service. The first time we attended no clergyman appeared, on the second the service had just begun at 1 o'clock, one woman only being present; later on a man came in, but neither he nor she took any part in the proceedings, which became a duologue carried on by our representative and the curate, and were over at 1.15.

Part of the large endowment of this church was diverted to build another St. Olave's in a very poor and crowded East End district. The money, as in some other instances, seems to have been entirely wasted. The new St. Olave's is even more empty and useless as a religious organization than the old. With twenty times the population fewer come to church. The majority of its parishioners are now Jews, and of the others the few who seek religion find what suits them better at a neighbouring mission hall. The story has been told in another volume.

St. Katherine Coleman (26) is an absolutely uninteresting eighteenth century church built at that time to replace one of ancient date which had fallen to ruin. On the Sunday morning of our visit the congregation consisted of eight women, four men and three children. This is one of the churches which is opened every morning (6.30 to 8.45) as a place of refuge for the women and girls who, to secure a cheaper railway fare, come into town some hours before the time their work begins. They thus have seat and shelter, and at 7.50 a special service is held. Thus when least to be expected a beautiful use is found for this ugly and forsaken church.

Holy Trinity, Minories (27), the ninth and last church in this group, is only just within the City limits. Its parish consists of the old precincts of a monastery which lay beyond the walls, and the original church, attended by Sir Isaac Newton when he was master of the Mint, was the old monastery chapel. It was rebuilt in the eighteenth century and is a 'very unpretending little structure, containing some handsome old carving and sundry curiosities.' The attendance at this church on Sunday is of the smallest, and no other use is made of the building. The parish has been united with that of St. Botolph, Aldgate.

§ 5

There is now no church in the triangle enclosed by Gracechurch Street, Fenchurch Street and Leadenhall Street, but north of Cornhill and Leadenhall Street, betwixt Moorgate Street and the eastern boundary of the City, we have a fourth group with again nine churches. Of these St. Helen's, Bishopsgate (28), is by far the most remarkable. It has great and peculiar architectural beauty and is filled with monuments of surpassing interest, and its situation, while easy of access, is singularly retired and quiet. Moreover, the church is large. It formerly combined the service of parish and convent, and with this object it was constructed with parallel naves of about equal size. To these a transept and two chapels were added later. There is a good choir, but a congregation is lacking. The twelve persons who attended the service on the Sunday morning of our visit made but little show in so large a building. The Litany is sung here on

Wednesday and Friday, in one of the chapels, with impressive effect in the dark old edifice, even with only three men and one woman present.

To the parish of St. Helen was joined that of St. Martin Outwich in 1874, when this church, which stood in Threadneedle Street, was pulled down. The site was very valuable, and out of the proceeds three churches were built—Holy Trinity, Dalston, Christ Church, Stepney, and St. Peter, Limehouse.

St. Ethelburga's (29), which stands close by, with a very narrow entrance from Bishopsgate Street, though quite small and almost hidden from the eye of man, is far more enterprising and alive than is St. Helen's. The ritual, though it has been somewhat moderated, is still extremely High. The services and celebrations, which were crowded, are better attended than most, and the church being so small soon looks well filled. Those who attend are regular adherents and extremely devout. They are to no great extent parishioners (of whom all told there are only two hundred), but there is a teacher's guild connected with the church, and a monthly publication entitled *St. Ethelburga's Pulpit*. There are week-day services, and the little church is not only open, but is used for private prayer.

St. Andrew Undershaft (30), where Stow, the antiquary, is buried, is a sixteenth century church of considerable size, rather bare, but stately. It stands well at the corner of St. Mary Axe and Leadenhall Street. There was at one time a church of St. Mary Axe, but this was long ago demolished, and the two parishes were then united. The services at St. Andrew's are well conducted and it has a small parochial congregation. Twice a week, on Wednesdays and Fridays, at 1.15, the Litany is read, the choir attend to respond, and there seems to be usually a congregation of twelve or fifteen persons (eleven men,

one woman, and three lads, on the occasion of our visit). All is well and reverently done.

A few yards further along Leadenhall Street is St. Katherine Cree (31), another large church which offers kindly welcome to the few who come to it on Sunday, some twenty usually, mostly women and children. There is a service here every week-day except Saturday, at which on one occasion we found four women and four men, on another four women and one man. This church was rebuilt in the seventeenth century after a somewhat fanciful classical style.

St. Botolph's, Aldgate, and St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate (32 and 33), stood, as their names suggest, close by the City walls. They are not without population and have a certain amount of parish work to do of the ordinary kind, and are thus, apart from their endowments, somewhat more like East End than City churches. The numbers attending on Sunday are good, whether they be looked at from the City or the East End point of view, but it is otherwise with the week-day services in the dinner-hour, which both these churches have recently thought it their duty to institute, and which are even more empty, futile and perfunctory, than we have found them to be in the regular City churches, where the day population generally furnishes at least a few who take advantage of whatever may be offered.

The parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate, has still a population of about 4700, but that of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, is now less than 1700; the reduction having been rapid owing to the enlargement of Liverpool Street Station. Of the residents in Aldgate a considerable proportion are Jews and Roman Catholics. Both parishes contain a residue of the very poor who do not come to church at all, but are the object of large charitable endowments, to the administration of which much judicious attention has been devoted.

The late William Rogers, who for many years was rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, and Mr. Hadden, who served under him and who was, until very lately, incumbent of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, represented the broadest type of the Anglican clergy. More recently, at the former church, a greater point has been made of church observances, and, as regards Sunday, with some success, but a considerable proportion of those who attend come from outside the parish.

Following the City boundary westward we come to the little church of All Hallows on the Wall (34), and find again a more normal City parish, for there is a resident population of not more than two hundred souls. The old church escaped the Fire and the present one was built in the eighteenth century. It is a compact oblong building, lighted from above, and even if it could win a special place for itself in the hearts of some Sunday worshippers, it seems far better adapted for week-day, work-a-day, utilities. It would make a perfect lecture hall. Failing some such use, or perhaps even in spite of it, the enormous immediate value of the site, with its long frontage to the south, will surely bring about destruction. Meanwhile, its services seem to touch very few. On the Sunday morning of our visit the congregation consisted of about fifteen persons besides officials. On Wednesday and Friday at 1.15 the Litany and a hymn are given. We reached the church at 1.10, and shortly afterwards a woman entered and, after praying for some minutes, went out; then two other women came and knelt in prayer. At 1.20 the bell rang for a few minutes and two men came in, and finally the clergyman, who thus had five auditors. But this church, like St. Katherine Coleman and others, is opened as a refuge for girls arriving by the early morning trains, and was one of the first to be so utilized. A service was held, but before or after, sewing

might be done, and books of a general character were provided.

St. Peter le Poer (35), like All Hallows on the Wall, was spared by the Fire, but became dilapidated and was rebuilt in the eighteenth century. It is circular in shape, and is lighted by a large lantern, with glass sides, which is placed in the centre of the roof. It is 'by no means a beautiful edifice,' nor is it adapted particularly for public worship. Yet it would be excellently well suited for some of the alternative uses to which sacred buildings may quite reasonably be turned. As it is, however, it provides a beautiful musical service, which is rather sparsely attended. It is open on week-days.

With the ninth church in this group, St. Margaret's, Lothbury (36), we come again to the scene of the Great Fire, and find a combination of many old parishes which covered the ground immediately north and east of the Royal Exchange. Two of these, St. Martin Pomeroy, and St. Mary Colechurch, were abolished at the time of the Fire, and four, St. Christopher le Stocks, St. Bartholomew's by the Exchange, St. Mildred's in the Poultry, and St. Olave's, Jewry, have been done away with since. A reproduction of St. Bartholomew's was built in Moor Lane, Cripplegate, to which organ and pulpit and carvings were transferred. It is another instance of wasted effort. The population it was built to serve, but who remained untouched, has now moved away, and it is suggested that the church should once more follow. So, too, the proceeds of the sale of St. Mildred's went to build St. Paul's, Goswell Road, and St. Paul's in its turn appears destined to be before long of as little use for religious purposes as any City church, while for civic and educational purposes it is far less conveniently placed.

St. Margaret's itself has been enriched by the spoil

of these past and gone churches. There is here active parochial work and a small parochial congregation on Sundays. There is a week-day service on Wednesday, which is well attended, when the lectures are given for which a provision has been made.

§ 6

We now come to the largest and, in some ways, the most interesting group of City churches; being those lying to the north-west of the Mansion House centre. There are fourteen in all, and of these nine were within the area of the Fire and were rebuilt by Wren.

St. Stephen's, Coleman Street (37), is a 'plain building without aisles, long, narrow and extremely low,' but it has a tower and eight bells, and a larger Sunday congregation than most. It also advertises a special men's service on Saturday afternoon, which is, I think, the only one in London. At this church effort is certainly made and meets with some response.

The church of St. Lawrence Jewry (38), stands by the side of the Guildhall, and, to some extent, is recognised as the special church of the Lord Mayor and City Corporation. This function might, perhaps, be carried further, for the building bears the civic stamp of Wren's buildings in a high degree and is one of his best productions. Under the late vicar the congregation had fallen to pieces, but since his retirement an entirely different spirit has shown itself and, though it may be too soon to judge, the results seem to show how great is the opportunity City churches offer. We have attended five services here, one being on Sunday, the rest on week-days (a special series during Lent), and on every occasion found the church from half to

two-thirds full, while on another afternoon it was filled for an organ recital. The week-day audiences consisted mostly of men. The addresses were on social subjects, considered from the religious point of view.

St. Michael Bassishaw (39), being much out of repair, has been closed for demolition, and the parish has been added to that of St. Lawrence Jewry.

St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury (40), is a large church, much modernized and little used. On Sunday morning we counted seven adults besides clergy and choir, and at the mid-day service on Wednesday, when we entered, the parson was reading prayers to a verger and a pew opener. There is a pleasant churchyard opened to the public and furnished with seats.

St. Alban's, Wood Street (41), was combined with St. Olave's, Silver Street, at the time of the Fire, and having recently absorbed St. Michael's, Wood Street, with which St. Mary's, Staining, had been united, it becomes the representative of four old parishes. The foundation of St. Alban's Church is amongst the earliest, dating back to the times of King Offa, twelve hundred years ago. It had been rebuilt in Tudor-Gothic style only thirty years before the Fire, and Wren's church was an exact repetition of it, copied from the same model. His loyalty in this respect has not been followed. The church has been 'inordinately altered and modernized. In fact, no pains seem to have been spared to render a once interesting and dignified interior as commonplace as possible.' When visited on two Sunday mornings the parson had the church practically to himself, and total inactivity seems to reign. St. Michael's Church, the site of which is now occupied by bank premises, is commemorated by a brass plate in the wall.

St. Vedast's, Foster Lane (42), noticeable for its remarkable spire, is also the representative of four old parishes. It is a large, wide church, of considerable

interest and beauty, and there is a full choir; but here, too, the services are very much neglected by the public. On one occasion only one or two, and on another four or five, were present when we visited the church on Sunday; and for a special service on Ash Wednesday one man and one woman came. That little more than this is expected may perhaps be inferred from the fact that the following extract from the Pastoral charge of Bishop Ken is printed and hung up in a frame at the door: "Be not discouraged if but few come to the solemn assemblies; but go to the House of Prayer where God is well known as a safe refuge, though thou go alone, or with but one beside thyself, and there as thou art God's remembrancer keep not silence, give Him no rest till He establish, till He make Jerusalem a praise in the earth."

St. Ann and St. Agnes (43) is another church practically without any Sunday congregation. It, however, provides a mid-day preaching service on Wednesday, as well as the usual ones on Sunday. This church stands back from Gresham Street, with open ground in front. It is square of shape, with columns carrying the roof, forming a square within a square.

Christ Church, Newgate Street (44), though one of the largest of Wren's churches, is small as compared to the church of the Grey Friars, which perished in the Fire and which it replaced. The old church, built in the fourteenth century, was three hundred feet in length, eighty-nine in breadth, and sixty-four feet from the pavement to the roof; it was, moreover, magnificent not only in its proportions, but in its detail, for we read that "it was entirely paved with marble, and the columns were of marble also." It was full of noble monuments. There was attached to it a library 129 ft. long, built for the Friars by Richard Whittington, who gave them also money to buy books. How different the position is to-day! After the dissolution

of the monasteries, and the destruction of all these monuments and memorials of the past, the church became parochial, and absorbed two neighbouring parishes ; while later, at the time of the Fire, another parish (St. Leonard's, Foster Lane) was added. All these traditions the present church inherits, and to them it added (but has now just lost) that of being chapel to Christ's Hospital Bluecoat School. When visited (before the removal of the school) the boys constituted the entire congregation ; without them the church will probably add one more to the sequence of deserted buildings. The church, though overshadowed by the memories of its great predecessor, is a notable edifice.

With the exception of St. Bartholomew the Less (45), which is, in effect, the chapel of the Hospital, the other churches in this group have each a considerable number of parishioners, and these mostly of the very poorest grade. This does not affect their congregations, since those who come are mainly from outside ; but it does greatly affect parochial organization and possibilities of usefulness in other ways. None of these churches suffered in the Fire, the area of which coincides very closely with that of modern depopulation.

Two of the buildings are of exceptional architectural and historical interest. I shall not attempt to render into words the solemn Norman beauty of St. Bartholomew the Great (46), which has only recently been rescued from the creeping destruction wrought by centuries of neglect. As it stood originally, the church of the Priory of St. Bartholomew must have been one of the most perfect of all the religious buildings in the world. The present church consists of the choir and transepts only ; the nave was destroyed at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries ; and upon the ruins of the old monastic premises other buildings sprang up, so that the church, with floor far below the level of the

streets as they now exist, is hemmed in on all sides by old houses. Some of these buildings had pushed their way in; as trees will grow in a ruin. A portion of a factory projected into the church at the East end; the North transept was occupied by a blacksmith's forge; and lapse of time had given prescriptive rights. The conditions are, it seems to me, strangely typical of the religious revival of our day: a church conscious of a great inheritance, but choked by the pressure of poverty and indifference, and finding itself often, it hardly knows how or why, below the level of the surrounding ground formed from the ruins of the past. It is an allegory.

St. Giles, Cripplegate (47), though closely surrounded by other buildings, remains in its original condition. It is a fourteenth century church, rebuilt a hundred years later after a fire, but without any alteration, the main walls having been left standing. It is unchanged to this day, and is full of interesting monuments. Here Oliver Cromwell was married, and Milton buried.

The parish of St. Bartholomew includes Smithfield meat market, and here it is difficult to draw the usual City distinction between day and night population, for the night only lasts from about midnight to 2 a.m.; but in the sense of having their homes elsewhere the distinction applies, for many, if not most, of the market people live in other districts. Those who attend the Sunday morning service are largely strangers attracted by the fame of the church; in the evening a few of the better-to-do parishioners come. On the rest of the population the church is able to make hardly any impression, though services are held every day and the church is always open. For Sunday school work there are not enough children 'to go round.' They are competed for by churches, chapels and missions, who outvie each other in the giving of treats; while as for the women, the rector says of them very kindly,

'I never knew mothers work so hard; they often manage to attend four or five meetings in the week.' Whoever wants charitable relief here obtains it.

St. Giles' has a smaller population, with a larger proportion of poor, who are regularly visited and relieved in case of distress, and encouraged to come to the rectory in their difficulties. It is not expected that they should attend church. The children, for whom there is here no regular Sunday school, have a special afternoon service, which they attend in large numbers. They come to church on Sunday morning also, and help greatly to fill up the congregation. This is a church of many services, there being three on week-days and six on Sunday. On a Wednesday, when we attended, only eleven persons were present for the 1.15 service, but every effort is made.

St. Alphage, London Wall (48), attempts no week-day services, but the church is open daily for private prayer, and on Sunday afternoon there is a special service for men. It is a small building, erected in the eighteenth century, to replace one constructed out of the fragments of an old Priory church, some remnants of which are still standing, as is also a piece of the old London Wall, which may be seen in the churchyard. The chief interest is antiquarian. The population only counts thirty-eight souls.

St. Botolph's, Aldersgate (49), like St. Bartholomew the Great and St. Giles', Cripplegate, has a considerable though declining population, of whom many are very poor. It is a small church, actively served; the ritual High, though not extreme. The congregations, which are comparatively large, are mainly drawn from outside. Of the parishioners a few caretakers come, but 'of the poor from the courts, none at all, and it is useless to expect them.' 'The City poor,' adds the rector, 'are more unsatisfactory and invertebrate than most of their class. They consist largely of people who have

come there with the intention of picking up a shiftless living. In the past the City charities have done much to demoralize, and though they have been reformed, the atmosphere they created seems still to exist.' He, too, speaks of the multiplication of mothers' meetings and Sunday schools, and other agencies, and of the evil results of such competition. Some of the mission schools make ragged children a speciality, and (it may be necessarily) condone dirt. At this church there used to be two Sunday schools, one of them being for the more dirty children. This distinction was put an end to. Cleanliness was demanded from all alike. Upon this, half the *quondam* dirty rose to the occasion and conformed to the new regulations, while the rest sought some school that was less exacting.

With St. Sepulchre's, Holborn (50), the last church of the present group, we re-enter the zone of the Fire, but this building was only partly burnt, and could be reconstructed. Since that time it has been several times restored and altered. Still it remains an imposing church, and having stood high, overlooking Holborn valley, now holds with good effect the Newgate end of the Viaduct. Within, it is large and stately. The population of the parish is considerable, and the present incumbent, though told that it is a useless attempt, is striving to build up a congregation out of the material at hand, such as it is. The church is busy, and its bells ring out, with what effect as to his parishioners remains to be seen. On the Sunday morning of our visit the numbers present were very small, and we doubt if the evening congregation would be much larger. As regards the poor, we are again told of the difficulty caused by the amount of bribery and competition prevailing. 'The people have been utterly pauperized and demoralized; and if asked to come to meetings, or send their children to school, say

openly, "What do you give?" Churches and Missions are equal offenders.' There is a Church day school in this parish (and there are two in St. Giles') to which a respectable class of children comes from outside.

§ 7

Westward of Farringdon Street there are three more City churches, or four if we count the comparatively recent development of Holy Trinity, Gough Square. The old churches are those of St. Andrew, Holborn, St. Bride, Fleet Street, and St. Dunstan in the West.

St. Andrew's (51), having been placed some distance from the top on the western side of Holborn valley, lies a little below the level of the new roadway, but otherwise forms a *pendant* to St. Sepulchre's, and its position, though partly spoiled, is still very fine. The Great Fire did not reach this church, but the old building was in ruins, and amongst his other work Wren found time to rebuild it. The church, which is as he left it, is very perfect in its proportions. Its tower is that of the previous church. The organ, always a special feature of Wren's churches, is particularly so here. Those who pass along the roadway above the church can hear, and may perhaps be arrested by, the glorious sound of its music. The parish has a considerable population, and if the congregation looks small, it is not by comparison with other City churches of the Establishment, but when contrasted with the crowds that flock to hear Dr. Parker at the City Temple close by.

The great steeple of St. Bride's, Fleet Street (52), rises triumphantly above the houses, which otherwise

hide the church from view. It was one of Wren's greatest works. This steeple was damaged by lightning after one hundred years, and in rebuilding was slightly lowered, and perhaps the proportions were injured. It seems to fall short in some way of Wren's usual grace, but so in truth does the church itself. It is very large, excessively so for the small numbers who attend its services. The vicar recognises that 'the only use of a City church is on week-days.' To the Litany given on Wednesday and Friday hardly anyone comes, but on Mondays at 1.30, when there is a preaching service with special preachers, the attendance, though, of course, varying according to the preacher, is on the whole satisfactory. The church is open daily, from 11 to 4, 'for rest, meditation, and prayer.'

The resident population is not very large, and is steadily decreasing. The people, though of rather a low class, are fairly respectable, and every one is said to be known and visited. Very few come to church. It is the old story heard so often: 'Not altogether without religion, women very particular about being churched (admittedly lingering superstition), call in the clergyman when people are dying whether the sick person is conscious or not (as establishing a sort of propriety).' The boys taught in Sunday school get out of hand afterwards, and the task of retaining any hold on them is made more difficult by the floating crowd of lawless 'day boys' connected with newspaper work, who come from everywhere and are uncontrollable.

Connected with St. Bride's there is an institute, which is without any particular religious aims. It is administered by a special body of trustees, of whom the vicar is chairman, and is a combination of technical school, library, swimming bath and gymnasium. It is available for both sexes and any class, young

people and adults. A small charge is made in each department. It is a well-used and well-managed institution. The only trades taught are those connected with printing; but of these, including the various branches of process work, the institute is the chief educational centre in London.

Holy Trinity, Gough Square (53), is an offshoot from St. Bride's. One reads in the annals of St. Bride's, with a kind of bewilderment, "that Dr. Dale, having been appointed vicar in 1835, and finding the church" (this huge and now empty church) "too small for the needs of his parishioners, set himself strenuously to work to remedy this difficulty, and by his unwearied exertions procured the erection of the district church of Holy Trinity, Gough Square, at the junction of Great New Street and Pemberton Road."* The district served by this church was constituted a separate parish. In it there is now a population of less than eight hundred, extremely indifferent to the services of the church.

The church of St. Dunstan in the West, Fleet Street (54), marked the western, as did that of St. Dunstan's in the East, approximately, the eastern, boundary of the City. 'This church escaped the Fire, but only very narrowly, as the flames extended to within three doors of the sacred building.' So the old building stood, but, after being repaired and altered several times, was taken down in 1829. In the new church are a large number of old monuments. There is a small parochial congregation.

Close by, but hidden among the buildings of the Inns of Court, is the beautiful Temple Church. Here, as in the chapels of Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn, considerable congregations assemble, the composition of which is largely determined by their connection with the English Bar.

* Daniel, page 146.

§ 8

The City parish churches, and especially those which lie nearest, suffer from the pre-eminent attractions of St. Paul's, the place they fill becoming continually less important, while that filled by the cathedral is every year greater. The association of St. Paul's with popular sentiment in London was very strikingly exemplified on Sunday, January 27th, 1901, being the first Sunday after the death of Queen Victoria. The feelings of the people were deeply touched. London shook off lethargy, rose betimes, and went to church. Thousands turned towards St. Paul's, and, after filling the cathedral, overflowed into the neighbouring churches. We traced one of the streams. Before 11 o'clock St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, was filled; so was St. Vedast's, Foster Lane; the church of St. Anne and St. Agnes seemed to have remained undiscovered by the crowd, and was as empty as usual, only two women awaiting the commencement of the service; but St. Mary-le-Bow was full to overflowing, and so were St. Michael's and St. Peter's, on Cornhill; only at St. Andrew Undershaft did we reach the limit, finding here the normal congregation of thirty to forty. St. Katherine Cree, St. Katherine Coleman, and St. Olave's, Hart Street, were all occupied or neglected as usual, but St. Botolph's, Aldgate, was well filled with its own parishioners. The overflow filled also the adjacent churches to the South and West.

Though seen at its greatest on special occasions, when deep national feeling finds a focus there, or at great religious festivals, as when Bach's Passion music is given in Holy Week, the ordinary Sunday services at St. Paul's as a religious development of our time are quite equally noteworthy.

The numbers attending, morning, afternoon and evening, are large, and among them the proportion of

men is unusually great. In a place so huge it is difficult to estimate the size of the congregation, and moreover, a certain number come and go. Some having been present through the earlier part will leave before the sermon, while others arrive or take their seats at that time. The places of those who leave are often filled up from behind. All through service time people gather at the back and stand about in the transepts. The more regular congregation, and most of those who have come intending to stay through the whole service, sit beneath the dome.

The services are solemnly performed, the preaching is generally of a high order, the music exquisite, and the great congregations are drawn from all parts of London. "It is" (writes one) "the most beautiful thing of the kind to be heard anywhere. Better than the music at Notre Dame in Paris, or at the Cathedral at Chartres, or the Pope's choir in the Sistine Chapel at Rome, or at the Hof-Kapelle in Dresden, or here in London at the Temple Church, or at New College, Oxford, or even at King's College, Cambridge. The perfection of the chanting has to be heard to be believed."

§ 9

Apart from the Church of England comparatively little is attempted, but some of the Nonconformist work is very typical. The Dutch Church in Austin Friars is a relic of the past. The spacious old church is shown to strangers during the week and is opened on Sunday. It was taken from the recalcitrant Friars by Henry VIII in 1550 and made over to the Dutch Protestants flying from Spanish persecution by Edward VI. It is now the only Dutch church in London. A few cigar makers from East London and tailors

from Soho, attend its services, but not many others, and it may be that those who come do so in order to participate in its charities, for the church is wealthy. The better class Dutch in London become Anglicised and attend English churches. In this building the Weigh-house merchants' lectures, given annually by well-known members of the Congregational body, are now delivered.

The new Jewin Welsh Methodist church near Aldersgate Street, on the contrary, has a vigorous life in the present and a promising future. It is a rallying point for the members of this body, and the congregation is drawn from a wide area. The Sunday morning gathering is small, but in the evening the chapel is crowded, and the building, which now holds six hundred to seven hundred, is to be enlarged. In the afternoon a Sunday school is held for adults, as well as children, and tea is provided for those from a distance who remain all day. At 5.30 there is a gathering of children, and at 6.30 the regular evening service begins. There are also week-evening meetings of various kinds, including a literary society. All the services and meetings are conducted in Welsh, and examinations are held, with prizes and certificates, for proficiency in the language, the maintenance of which is a first object, for though English becomes the medium for business, Welsh remains the language of the emotions.

Of ordinary Nonconformist churches there are few examples, the most important being Bishopsgate Chapel, belonging to the Congregationalists, which has a week-day preaching service for City men. The Society of Friends has its headquarters at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate Street; the Moravians have a centre in Fetter Lane; and the Positivists are near by in Newton Hall, while in South Place the Ethical Society is active in providing lectures and concerts.

All these recognise the value of the City as a centre. So, too, does Dr. Parker at the City Temple, where it is shown very clearly how many people there are ready to listen and to learn when the religious guidance offered is enforced by eloquence and makes a full use of music as an accessory to attract. It is not only on Sunday that crowds flock to hear Dr. Parker. He preaches also every Thursday at noon, when about a thousand people are generally present, and not infrequently more. His church has become a great preaching centre.

A Sunday morning service in this church has been described incidentally in treating of West Central London (Vol. II., p. 222), and some further notes are given in 'Illustrations' on page 63 of the present volume.

CHAPTER II

A SUGGESTION

§ 1

THAT fifty-four churches are not needed to fulfil parochial duties for the handful of people who have their homes in the City of London, is self-evident; and to those who look no further this seems a sufficient reason for proposing to sweep away forty or more of them, under some scheme of parochial re-adjustment and amalgamation. The argument in favour of this course is two-fold; it being urged that there is no occasion for the churches where they are, while at the same time there is pressing need of church extension elsewhere. The whole is summed up in the phrase, 'the people have gone, let the churches follow,' and is enforced by pointing to the emptiness and present uselessness of the buildings and to the enormous value of their sites. This argument is, in my opinion, fallacious.

I am not concerned to deny the comparative uselessness of almost all, and the absolute uselessness of many, if not most, of the City churches at present. What we have ourselves seen and recorded may well seem to confirm the view of the most hostile critic. I do not admit, however, that these buildings need remain unused; on the contrary, I claim that they were never more required than now, and, indeed, I hold that they offer a notable opportunity.

Neither do I pass over the need for church extension elsewhere. But I think that our inquiry has already shown with sufficient clearness, and as we go on it becomes more and more manifest, that it is not by the use of outside funds in planting churches here and there, that the dormant religious sentiments of the people are to be roused or their spiritual needs met. Money obtained by the abolition of City churches, if devoted to that object, would probably be wasted and might be worse than wasted. Those who desire to meet together for the worship of God will not fail to find a church for themselves. Nor is it different if others seek to help ; it is by effort and self-sacrifice that God must be served. Only so will the neglectful ever be won to His service.

If, on the other hand, the more social side of religion be aimed at in the demand for money and in its expenditure, no better field for such work could be found than that which lies at the door of the City churches. The inability to find uses for them springs, in truth, from a pinched and narrow view of the scope of religion. If this be not so, if these old churches really are useless to us, then let them be reverently held in trust for the advent of some wiser and more pious generation.

But I hope to show that the buildings and endowments could be exceedingly well used in connection with modern city life and also in accord with true religion.

§ 2

Religious feeling can never die, but it changes its expression. The conception of organized religion as a perpetual adoration of God, with priests as its ministers, and churches as the scene of an almost hourly service of praise or intercession, has, in our days and amongst us, given place to something very different. Under the old view, though all who hold the faith are bound by duty to take part in it, the worship of the Church does not in any way depend upon their presence. Among Protestants, however, a congregation is essential, and services which are attended solely by those in office become a farce. The test of vitality in religion is the power of finding new methods of expression when required; those who, under a Protestant *régime*, cling blindly to the ancient forms and would exclude all others, are hugging a corpse.

Apart from what remains of the old forms in the observance of a common rubric, and apart from a somewhat galvanic effort of the High Church to resuscitate disused, if not proscribed, forms, the Church of England shares with the Nonconformist Protestant Churches all the regular Protestant developments. It is vigorous mainly in proportion to the power of the pulpit, and proof of success is found in the organization of the leisure of its people for the service of the Church and for their mutual benefit. Thus does our religion, if successful, put on its week-day clothes.

§ 3

In the City of London it is clearly not the few who have their homes and sleep in the City who should first be considered, but the many who only come to work there, sleeping and spending their Sundays elsewhere. Thus it is that here, more than anywhere, religion must turn its attention to week-day applications and week-day opportunities. If in other places it is admissible to hold that 'everything is religious that is not irreligious;' if it is ever right to use church buildings for secular purposes, it is so in the City of London. Employment on Sunday need be neither the only nor even the principal use of a church; for these buildings might just as reasonably be closed on Sunday and open all the week, as be opened on Sunday and closed (or practically closed) at all other times.

The largest proportion of the City day population consists of clerks of lower middle class. In this occupation the subordinate grades are socially in touch with warehousemen and porters, while the upper edge reaches the level of managing clerks, consorting with managers, and with a whole hierarchy of middle-class and even wealthy people. No other industrial class rests on quite so broad a social base. To their numbers may be added many young women, variously but respectably employed in the City, coming also from lower middle or upper working-class homes.

It is of these, and such as these, both male and female, that the Nonconformists build up their most vigorous organizations, and in our whole population there is no class so keen as is this class, for self-improvement, or more ready to work for the improvement of others. The opportunity is there; the goal is open and the ball lies at the foot of the Church.

§ 4

I would take nothing away from the existing religious utilities of these churches; what I suggest is in addition, not in substitution; or in substitution only of that part of their religious effort which consists in the attempt to justify their existence by the multiplication of futile services.

Additional week-day uses for the buildings must be found, and might, by mutual agreement, be apportioned among the churches in accordance with the character of each building and of its surroundings. All such uses would be in addition to whatever religious services could be offered to advantage, as to which each church could still take its own course. The hours would not clash. The churches might still be opened for private prayer, and perhaps, as they became more widely known, they would be more extensively used for what are at present regarded as their more normal purposes. Certainly to be better known could do the churches no harm. For the social and educational purposes I have in mind, which would include music, and lectures, and conferences, the evening hours would be the natural time. Minor and detached examples of what is suggested are already found in the choral and literary societies which may be connected with any church, and are not unknown even in the City itself; but as adopted for the City as a whole, they would have to be arranged on a more thoughtful, a more carefully co-ordinated, and a nobler plan. The object would be to offer to the great community which meets daily in the City of London, something which, without being definitely religion or exactly education, would be an awakening and refining influence; good in itself, and a stimulus to mind and spirit, from which both religion and education would profit.

To direct this undertaking there might be, I think, a council upon which the City Corporation, the City companies and guilds, the trustees of the City parochial charities and some other bodies would be represented, in addition to all the City parishes and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. Perhaps the beautiful and seldom seen halls of the City companies might sometimes be used as well as the churches.

That which is offered to the public should be the best of its kind : worthy of a great City and of a great State Church. Worthy also of the buildings with which Wren's genius and the piety of a remote past have endowed us. The music offered must be something more than an attraction to other things, or than an occasional voluntary, however beautifully rendered, such as now springs, without thought of any audience, from the pride and delight of the organist in his instrument. Lectures may be more or less popular, or more or less educational—a single lecture or a course—but in any case must be fresh and to the point, not planned, as too often they are now, to pay a double debt, and serve for sermon in another church. In connection with music it may be hoped that choral and orchestral societies would be formed, and in connection with lectures, that associations of various kinds might grow up and bring with them some element of self-government.

The hours must almost necessarily be those which immediately follow the close of City work, say 5.30 to 7.30 for beginning, or from 6.30 to 8.30 for ending. They would fall between tea (taken in the City) and supper (taken at home). During these hours I feel convinced that large audiences could be secured from among the enormous day population of workers, and many strong societies be formed; and, in addition, the City would become the centre of a new attraction ; those from without would come in, to meet those

whose day is spent in the City, in order to enjoy the advantages offered. In confirmation of this expectation I may point to the immense success in recent years of the exhibitions of pictures at the Guildhall.

It may, perhaps, be objected that to make the City attractive in these ways would have an injurious effect on the attendance at evening meetings connected with churches or chapels or other centres to which those employed in the City are already attached; and that borrowing from Peter to pay Paul is no benefit, but rather only a disturbance of equilibrium. This would seem to be a narrow view. There would certainly be competition, but the field is wide, and for every one whose evenings and whose energies are desirably occupied, there are many who only patrol the streets or crowd the music-halls. A few enterprises might be affected prejudicially, but more would gain by the stimulus of rivalry; and the final justification of this proposal is found in the untouched masses that London offers, of men and women whose intellectual life is stagnant, whose artistic impulses remain dead, and whose imaginations are never stirred.

Or it may be held that home life will suffer from the multiplication of evening engagements. But it is well that home life also should be subject to a certain amount of competition. Good and happy homes are not likely to suffer; they may rather gain new elements of happiness from the new interests introduced. If homes are dreary the competition of outside attractions may be beneficial, and if undesirable, withdrawal from them will do no harm. Moreover, many young City people have no home life at all.

§ 5

I have said that my proposal need not trench in any way on the directly religious uses of any of these churches. Such as these uses now are they might remain, and no opportunity now open would be lost. The churches would merely be asked to lend their buildings at certain times, and club their resources to a certain extent, in order to carry out a programme in which they would have a leading voice and which would justify and even glorify their now threatened existence. The scheme would be marred by no sectarian spirit. In it there should be no place for jealousies.

The adaptability of almost all Wren's churches, and of those built during the eighteenth century, to partly secular purposes, has been referred to in describing them. They are quite perfect as lecture halls, but have none of the architectural qualities which stamp a building as sacred to the worship of God, and both in fact and by sentiment make it unfit for any secular use. Our earlier churches express the religious feelings of their own day, and more recent ones are the result of modern effort to reproduce the same effect; but of all this there is nothing in any of Wren's churches excepting in the one or two in which he consented to reproduce the ideas of what already in his time was quite the past. How far he went away from them in his own creations is indicated by the fact that the space above the altar was usually occupied by the Royal Arms.

As an accompaniment, to soothe, support, or stimulate, or in affording a most pure delight, architecture exercises a power over the human soil hardly less than that of music and similar in kind; and upon his work the character of Wren's genius stamped a civic spirit which, in St. Paul's, culminated in something greater

still. Westminster Abbey is a sacred museum of the past ; St. Paul's embodies and ennobles the national life of to-day. The same spirit in a minor degree is breathed by almost all Wren's churches. It is a solemn, but not exactly a religious spirit. On entering them one thinks of man and duty rather than of God and faith. It is these qualities which seem specially to fit the City churches for the purpose I have suggested ; it is not too much to say that they are as well adapted for the development of the higher forms of social life as those of Oxford and Cambridge are for scholarly training.

§ 6

Nor is there anything in my proposal incompatible with the amalgamation of parishes or their union for special purposes ; or, on the other hand, with deconsecration if in some cases that should be desirable. It is a bar only to demolition or disendowment. That no further action be taken in these directions I strongly urge, and, looking back, regret every step of the kind, destruction following upon neglect, which the last twenty or thirty years have seen. Greed is the danger. The temptation lies in the exaggerated value attaching to the sites ; and one thinks of the alabaster box of precious ointment that might have been sold for much money and given to the poor, but for which a better use was found.

CHAPTER III

ILLUSTRATIONS

I WOULD once more remind the reader that these extracts from our note-books must not be regarded as establishing any conclusion. They were not written for publication, and have been selected solely as illustrations.

§ I

RELIGIOUS WORK

St. Paul's.

(1) At 1.15 on Thursday a service was just beginning in one of the small chapels of St. Paul's Cathedral, situated on the north side near the west entrance. Some thirty or thirty-five took their places in the chapel, and an equal number crowded up to the rails which divide the chapel from the body of the church. Those at the back kept coming and going, being fed from loiterers and sight-seers; only those within the chapel could be counted as properly attending the service. There were a good many people scattered about in the Cathedral; some walking round looking at the monuments, others seated. The place is evidently accepted on the 'come in and rest' idea, and delightful it is to do so on a hot summer's day, such as this day was. The Cathedral looked magnificent. Richmond's mosaic decorations in the chancel, though lost as to detail, have an extraordinarily rich effect—a shining wealth of colour.

(2) It was a wet Sunday morning with a strong south-

westerly gale, and there were fewer people at St. Paul's than usual for the 10.30 service. There were some obviously fashionable West-enders, but the bulk were comfortable middle-class quietly-dressed people. There were hardly any colours in the women's dresses, for the shadow of the War lay upon everyone. There seemed to be more men than women present; a thing rarely seen outside of school or college chapels; men of all ages, but mostly between twenty and thirty. It is probable that such a service as that given at St. Paul's appeals especially to 'non-committal' ages, when definite church membership is shirked. The responses and the singing were hardly joined in at all. The sermon was by a noted evangelical preacher, a fine-looking grey haired old man with a good and loud voice, and what he said was entirely hortatory, rolled out in fine fluent phrases of four syllabled words, a sermon of the old school, with a great deal of alliteration and antithesis; playing on words of similar sound, as internal, external, eternal, &c., &c.; mere mouthing it seemed to be.

After the sermon a good number crowded up the choir to Communion. The others went slowly out, many looking at the monuments on the way.

(3) For evensong at 7 o'clock the space under the dome was practically full. On this occasion the majority were women; but there were not a few men, and more young men than old, many young men and women coming in pairs. A printed slip with the words of the hymns to be sung was given to each person on entering, and at the top one read "The congregation is requested to join in the singing throughout the service." The tunes selected were popular, but were not joined in to any great extent. The sermon, though of an ordinary and dull character, was listened to attentively.

St. Edmund the King and Martyr.

At the week-day communion service there were ten persons present. The whole service was reverent and impressive, and the sense of rest and peace in the church was very marked. One might have been in some quiet old cathedral town, rather than in the greatest, and one of the noisiest cities in the world. The one cab that

passed along Lombard Street sounded strangely remote and ghostly. An hour later, in place of the usual mid-day service, a Christmas carol was given, followed by a sermon. For this there was a congregation of about ten, but there were others who came and knelt in prayer and left again. The sermon was on 'Joy,' and full of the platitudes and mis-statements that seem to spring like mushrooms in the pulpit.

All Hallows', Barking.

This is a wealthy City parish, with a resident population of about three hundred people, but while remaining in the eye of the law an ordinary parish, the work is mainly extra-parochial, done both in and out of London; and aiming at this the men appointed are somewhat exceptional. The wide experience thus gained, or its special character, seems to make the clergy optimistic and inclined to view the position in London favourably as compared to the rest of the country. There is no place, they say, where religious interest is so keen. . . . . .

St. Mary at Hill.

. . . . . Carlile has a real simplicity, which, in preaching, is effective, but the matter of his sermon did not strike me. His power must be in personal individual influence; it is not that of the preacher. As a real friend and comrade he probably makes himself loved, and I should take him to be a disciplinarian. He conducted the service as well as preached. The plan of throwing the words on the illuminated sheet has much in its favour. The responses are far more generally made, and the repeating of the common confession in a low voice by everyone, or at least by a great many voices, was most remarkable. Enough of those present knew how the phrases go to keep the words in unison, and when needed the leader raised his voice at the beginning of a sentence. One wondered to what extent the congregation is drawn from other churches. The people who had waited with me outside for the opening of the doors, certainly had the appearance of habitual church-goers,

but a good many of the men seen inside as certainly did not bear that stamp. Some sixty in all remained for the after-service, but gradually moved off. No single soul was found to follow the instructions given to those who were urged to declare themselves, and come forward, the men on the right, the women on the left.

The most distasteful portions of the service were the dialogues with their effort after a familiar style. I was revolted also by the soul-catching work of the after-service, but this was no different from what may be experienced at the after-meetings of any Gospel mission. Stimulating and appealing; imploring, pressing, coaxing, wheedling; striving by all and any means to shake the soul, and thus induce waverers to declare for the Lord.

There is a good deal of imitation of the Salvation Army in all the Church Army methods, but the wearing of white surplices as a uniform is one of the strangest things done. Out of doors the men wear on their heads any ordinary hat, and the combination is often very bizarre, but for females a college cap completes the dress with excellent effect. A number of surpliced young women, with string instruments (a kind of angel choir), occupied the centre aisle in front of the altar-rail during the service.

St. Lawrence Jewry.

. . . . . The preacher on Monday was Father Dolling. His subject was 'A Gospel for the submerged.' The church was practically full. It was a wonderfully eloquent and touching sermon, ending with a long extempore prayer; certainly a large part of his audience were very near tears, and many handkerchiefs were in use; this, too, in a congregation almost entirely male. It was a sermon such as one imagines Savonarola preaching in Florence; a fierce denunciation of luxury and of rich Christians, who, 'rather than my poor people who know not what they do,' are the true 'submerged.' Father Dolling appears to count the spiritual and material destitution of the poor as entirely due to the neglect and apathy of the rich. In the course of his sermon he spoke of the hopeless religious outlook in his parish of ten thousand, 'most of them almost heathens.'

St. Botolph's, Aldgate.

There is here no absurd multiplication of services; only two on Sunday and none on other days, and people are not attacked for not coming to church. Sometimes the church is almost full, and sometimes almost empty, but if all who come occasionally were counted the number would be large. Not only is there no great pressure to come to church, but the greatest pains are taken not to allow the charitable funds to be used as a bait. The rector's ambition is to be considered a just man, and his labours have mostly lain outside the ordinary run of parish work. He has lived 'in an atmosphere of charity commissions and ecclesiastical commissions, architects, builders and surveyors. Since he has been here he has had official dealings on behalf of his parish with the Home Office and Privy Council, the Local Government Board, and Board of Agriculture, the War Office and Admiralty, the Education Department, the Public Works Loan Commissioners, Queen Anne's Bounty, and the Registrar of Friendly Societies, as well as the Charity and Ecclesiastical Commissioners.' For though the value of the living is small, the funds available for charity amounted to £10,000 a year, and the rector's efforts have been aimed at introducing order where formerly there was chaos and corruption. The educational endowments amount to £8000. The money was ill-administered and ill-spent, and some of it flagrantly jobbed. The aim has been to put all this upon a business footing, and this has now been achieved.

Bishopsgate Congregational Chapel.

This chapel is tucked away behind the houses numbered 76 and 77, Bishopsgate Street Without, but when discovered, was found to be a large building holding seven hundred people. It is in excellent repair, has been recently redecorated, and gives the impression of being the centre of a flourishing congregation. A new organ has been provided, and altogether some £1000 has been spent. In addition to the chapel and schoolrooms there are mission and class-rooms, upon which more than £2000 was spent two or three years ago. The congrega-

tion consists mainly of young people employed in shops, caretakers, police, and other City residents, with some more wealthy members who now live elsewhere, but maintain the connection. Mission work is undertaken among those who remain of the neighbouring poor, the young people of the congregation being organized as a mission band for this purpose. This enterprise is not very successful, but a week-day service to meet the wants of the City day population is fairly well attended.

Jewin Chapel.

The London Presbytery of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists includes some twelve churches, and Jewin Chapel is their centre. Welsh people coming to London may meet old friends here. There is a steady influx from Wales; they usually have friends already settled here, who exert themselves on their behalf, and thus they come to situations already found. It is not young people only, but whole families who move, and the immigration is still proceeding on a considerable scale. This church receives as many as one hundred or one hundred and fifty new members in a year, against which there is an efflux of young men and others who leave London to find employment in the provinces. A good many Welsh live in the City, employed as vendors of milk, and there are others living near who work in the large drapery establishments. But the congregation comes from all parts of London. The Welsh are religious people and they love their language, which, without some exercise on Sunday, they might be apt to lose. The church thus acquires importance. In having been enlarged it stands alone in the City of London.

The City Temple.

In our interview with Dr. Parker the impression that his chapel is a great preaching centre was corroborated, and the prejudice that those who attend seek merely a titillation of their religious sense was dispelled. But the City Temple is a 'preaching station,' and this it was intended to be. Even the old chapel in the Poultry

'dwindled into that'; and it is recognised now, and for many years has been, that the sole function of Dr. Parker as minister of the City Temple is to preach. There is an inner circle of some two hundred or three hundred church members who are united by the bonds of the Holy Communion; but there is no attempt to make this body large. It is not the sphere of the City Temple to create a great company of those who permanently worship there, or the various associations that would and should be the outcome of such a church. No, the City Temple is a centre to which many come and from which many pass on elsewhere. Some come for a short time, others for longer, but for the vast majority their connection with the place has the character of a passage through, not an abode. They come from everywhere. From all over London first, but it is a cosmopolitan congregation in which every country is represented, the visitors including, of course, many Americans. The number of ministers of all denominations that come to hear Dr. Parker is very large, so that he has been called 'preacher to preachers.' This is especially the case at the Thursday service, and the Church of England is by no means the least represented. Doubtless there is a desire to learn the secret of his success. 'Man!' said to him one who is now dead, 'I never come here without your stirring the war-horse in me.'

Dr. Parker says of himself that he never prepares his sermons. Three or four ideas jotted down, some flash of thought which leads to a choice made at the moment from among several such jottings, and the structure follows spontaneously. He either 'can do the thing or he can't.' And then he gave a graphic representation with word and gesture of the man straining for ideas, for a line of argument: hand on forehead, towel round the brow, coffee by his side:—he posed it all, and broke off suddenly: 'I can't do that—with me it must be a flash; I never elaborate.'

He has a splendid voice and highly trained elocution, even as he spoke he played with these powers as he might have done in the pulpit. It is this that has made so many class him as an actor playing a pulpit part; but the spontaneity of his utterances and the long continu-

ance, now fifty years, of his ministry, dispel any such idea and prove the reality of feeling and of life that lies behind, and explain, as nothing else could do, the great power he possesses.

He is practically never absent from his place, and to this attaches great importance. If anyone were to ask at the doors whether Dr. Parker were going to preach, it would rouse a smile: of course he will be the preacher. His shrewdness is illustrated by his choice of a site for his church. Everyone in London knows where Holborn Viaduct is and how to get there. In London, he says, it is fatal if you have to stop to think about these things. 'George Street Chapel? Yes. Let me see—I think you take ——. No, it is no good; you may as well give it up.' The result is that at the present time there is no place in London, or perhaps anywhere, with which site and personality are so readily associated in the public mind as they are with the City Temple.

The theology preached is described as 'Congregational —moderate Calvinistic'—Dr. Parker's own attitude being liberal, but explicitly not Unitarian. He has written numerous works on theology which define his position [1898].

An old City Missionary.

Mr. Nichols is a man of seventy. He knew something of our work, and had known the Mayhews, whom he met when they were preparing their book. He has worked in the Fetter Lane district for nearly fifty years. There used to be three missionaries on the ground he now covers. Gradually his colleagues died, and their districts were added to his, and the population he serves remains about the same in number. The effect of the clearances has been to improve the general condition by eliminating the poorest class. The men mostly work in the district, engaged in printing and bookbinding, in which trade also many girls are engaged; the older women undertake office cleaning. This occupation becomes almost hereditary, for a daughter will help her mother, and eventually may succeed to the work. Mr. Nichols calls from house to house, taking about a month to get round; and also visits a few workshops. Very few go to any place of worship.

Of the poor a good many receive parish relief, and some may remain in the neighbourhood on that account. The district had been 'splendid' for relief, but the Charity Commissioners have appropriated some of the endowments; and people who looked to these sources have lost their income. There is not much thrift; the people are wasteful and thoughtless. On the other hand there is not much real poverty.

§ 2

The Use of City Churches—Various Opinions.

(1) The rector of one parish spoke out with great freedom on this subject. He put the night population at about thirty-five thousand, and the value of City endowments at about £65,000 a year. The endowments are thus enormous, and the City is over-churched to an extraordinary extent. St. Paul's alone would hold all who go to church on Sunday morning. Perhaps of the fifty-four or fifty-five churches, fifteen might be retained. In some cases, quite apart from sufficient use, their beauty or historic interest should save them, but many have neither, and ought (in his view) to be pulled down. Deducting the Jews, the Nonconformists, and the Roman Catholics, it is not probable that more than half the population is left for the Church, and they are only so described because they don't call themselves anything else. He had had a clergyman from Walworth visiting him the other day, who had a parish of thirteen thousand, about a third of the total population of the City. It is (he thinks) to such parishes that the endowments of the City should be devoted; the money should follow the people to poor and suburban London. At the present moment, he added, the Bishop of London is asking for £40,000, but the City endowments are the thing to go for. The City is the great scandal of the Church of England.

(2) St. Bartholomew's, Moor Lane, has already been referred to as illustrating the difficulty of being sure when a City church is demolished and another built else-

where, that a permanently useful change is being made. For in this case, after forty years, the population of the district selected has also gone away, leaving a deserted church, which, in its turn, is doomed; but though all arrangements had been made to move somewhere, the new locality had not been decided. The move in this case was necessary, the vicar thought; but in his view only this church and that in Gough Square (which had had a somewhat similar history) ought to come down. He has little sympathy with those who would reduce the number of City churches to fifteen. He thinks that from architectural claim, from historical association, or from their prominent position and the work that is being done from them, or that might be done from them, a good case can be made for the retention of practically all the existing places. It is, he said, noticeable that whatever opinions may be held in general on the question of City churches, no incumbent fails to find reason for thinking that his own particular church has some exceptional claim.

(3) The rector of another parish was emphatic that none of the City churches ought to be pulled down; the sight of them alone is a constant protest against the worldliness of the City; besides which there is (he claims) ample work for them if the right men were chosen as rectors. They should be young and vigorous men, each chosen for their special gifts, and for a specific purpose. They should then be devoted as far as possible to the evangelization of separate classes, one for the police, for example, another for costers, a third for Billingsgate porters, and so on. The rectors should be men (unmarried for preference), who would be prepared to make special sacrifices to reach these classes; ready, if it is necessary, to have services at 2 a.m. or 5 a.m. All these classes (he conceives) can be reached if the right man is chosen, and the right methods used. But the men must be resident. The other great use of the City churches should, he thought, be as churches of intercession, as a counteracting current to the stream of worldliness around them. These should be the two main objects of the City churches, but in addition he suggested that the City clergy should make much greater efforts to

act as spiritual advisers of people employed in the City, but not living there. There are many, he held, who would welcome the spiritual assistance in their troubles of a person who is a stranger to their home life. The City rectory might be made a centre for this.

(4) Canon Shuttleworth approved the policy of giving some of the City livings to those whose work was mainly extra-parochial, but did not think it could be with safety carried much further than it had been. He thought greater variety might be made in the character of service offered, and in general held that any man with a personality can make for himself a sphere of work in the City. He laid stress on the importance of the constant opening of the churches. In his own case he raised no objection if people took their luncheon sitting there, and always provides books for people to read while they sit and rest, and has never lost one.

(5) . . . . . Lastly, one cannot but feel great sympathy with the opinion expressed by more than one, that these mute witnesses to The Eternal; these havens of rest in the surging stream of City life; these monuments, whose stones will soon alone remain to speak in the midst of modern warehouses and offices of London past; should only be disturbed when, or if, an overwhelmingly strong case can be made out for their demolition.

PLACES OF WORSHIP.

List of Parish Churches in the City of London arranged in alphabetical order with number referring to position on SKETCH MAP, (*vide* p. 5) together with a list of other PLACES OF WORSHIP, with Number referring to the parish in which they are situated.

	No. on Sketch Map.
All Hallows, Barking	24
All Hallows, Lombard St.	3
All Hallows, London Wall	34
Christ Church, Newgate St.	44
Holy Trinity, Gough Square	53
Holy Trinity, Minories	27
St. Alban, Wood St.	41
St. Alphage, London Wall	48
St. Andrew, Blackfriars	16
St. Andrew, Holborn	51
St. Andrew Undershaft	30
St. Anne and St. Agnes, Aldersgate	43
St. Augustine, Watling St.	18
St. Bartholomew-the-Great	46
St. Bartholomew-the-Less	45
St. Botolph, Aldersgate	49
St. Botolph, Aldgate	32
St. Botolph, Bishopsgate	33
St. Bride, Fleet Street	52
St. Clement, Eastcheap	9
St. Dunstan-in-the-East	23
St. Dunstan-in-the-West	54
St. Edmund the King, Lombard St.	4
St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate	29
St. George, Botolph Lane	20
St. Giles, Cripplegate	47
St. Helen, Bishopsgate	28
St. James, Garlickhithe.	13
St. Katherine Coleman, Fenchurch St.	26
St. Katherine Cree, Leadenhall St.	31
St. Lawrence Jewry, Gresham St.	38
St. Magnus the Martyr	19
St. Margaret, Lothbury.	36
St. Margaret Pattens	22
St. Martin, Ludgate	17
St. Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane	8
St. Mary, Aldermanbury	40
St. Mary Aldermary, Queen Victoria St.	11
St. Mary-at-Hill, Eastcheap	21
St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside	10
St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard St.	5
St. Michael, Bassishaw	39
St. Michael, Cornhill	1
St. Michael, Paternoster Royal	12
St. Mildred, Bread Street	14
St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey	15
St. Olave, Hart Street	25
St. Paul's Cathedral (non-parochial)	17
St. Peter, Cornhill	2
St. Peter-le-Poer, Old Broad St.	35
St. Sepulchre, Holborn	50
St. Stephen, Coleman St.	37
St. Stephen, Walbrook	6
St. Swithin, Cannon St.	7
St. Vedast, Foster Lane	42
Temple Church	55

OTHER PLACES OF WORSHIP

	Parish Number.
City Temple (Cong.), Holborn Viaduct	51
Bishopsgate Chapel (Cong.), Bishopsgate St.	49
Cong. Ch., Falcon Square	41
Welsh Bapt. Ch., Eldon St.	37
New Jewin Welsh Ch. (Calv. Meth.), Fann St.	47
Friends' Meet. Rm., Devonshire House, Bishopsgate St. Without	49
Dutch Reformed Ch., Austin Friars	35
Moravian Ch., Fetter Lane	54
*St. Mary (R. C.), Blomfield St.	37
Wild Olive Graft Miss., 4, Vine St., Minories	27
Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Bevis Marks	31
Great Synagogue, Duke St.	31
New Synagogue, Gt. St. Helen's	28

* Demolished.

PART II

WEST LONDON

Date of the Inquiry in this District: 1899

CHAPTER I

WESTMINSTER AND SOUTH PIMLICO

§ 1

OLD WESTMINSTER

Before passing to the wealth and fashion of the streets and squares surrounding Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens, and before we are led on through these portals to the problems of the Outer West, we may pause for a moment at Westminster where we have a district hardly less remarkable than the City of London itself: the centre and citadel not of London indeed, but of the Empire.

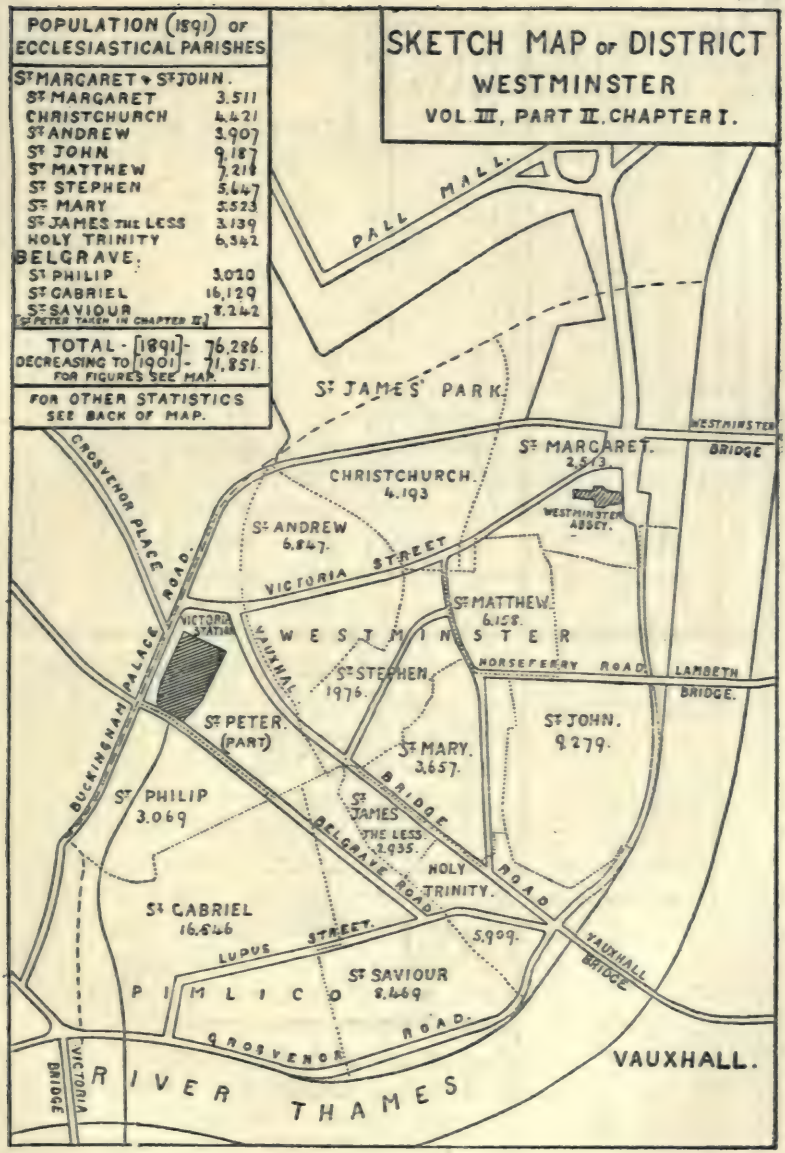
The Abbey is the nucleus round which modern Westminster has grown up, and it is the Abbey which, with its associations and monuments, remains the Valhalla and Mecca of our race. Near it Royal Palaces were erected, succeeded by the present Houses of Parliament, to which, stately though the later buildings be, the Great Hall, dating from the time of William Rufus, lends a dignity unequalled in anything that has been added; and near it, too, have sprung up the public buildings and offices of British rule. In the forefront is the parish of St. Margaret, which, with the adjacent portion of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, is packed full of public buildings and palaces. Here there are hardly any residents, and

the business done is practically confined to the Public Service. The main duties of the police are to guard the national buildings and monuments; those of the Church to maintain the sanctity of the Abbey, to fulfil some occasional parliamentary functions, and to welcome at St. Margaret's Church a fashionable congregation.

This seat of Empire is approached by three great thoroughfares: Westminster Bridge, from the further end of which radiate wide roads South and East; Whitehall, connecting Westminster through Trafalgar Square with the heart of London; and Victoria Street, through which we reach the wealthy district to be described in our next chapter. From the actual South, along the riverside, there is at present no very good approach; but an extension of Grosvenor Road to the Houses of Parliament by means of the widening of Millbank Street is sanctioned, and the acquisition of the river-bank will surely form a part of any scheme of improvements that may be arranged.

Behind the Abbey and Dean's Yard to the South, is found a group of poor streets, the condition of which forms the principal subject of this chapter. This little district of ancient poverty lies mainly within the parishes of St. John, St. Matthew, and St. Stephen, but to it must be added part of Christ Church, for under the influence of demolitions the poor are now occupying new ground further South. To the South-West, in the portion of Pimlico included in our sketch map, the conditions are, by comparison, entirely modern, but present an admixture of shabby gentility and vice, hardly less depressing than the low life of the old slums; and both areas suggest homilies when contrasted with the wealth and fashion of Belgravia and Mayfair.

Residential Westminster as a whole is being subjected to all the changes which accompany rebuilding;


SKETCH MAP OF DISTRICT
WESTMINSTER
VOL. III, PART II. CHAPTER I.
POPULATION (1891) OF ECCLESIASTICAL PARISHES
St MARGARET & St JOHN.
St MARGARET 3.511
CHRISTCHURCH 4.421
St ANDREW 3.907
St JOHN 9.187
St MATTHEW 7.218
St STEPHEN 5.647
St MARY 5.523
St JAMES THE LESS 3.139
HOLY TRINITY 6.342
BELGRAVE.
St PHILIP 3.020
St GABRIEL 16.129
St SAVIOUR 8.242
[St PETER TAKEN IN CHAPTER II.]
TOTAL - [1891] - 76.286.
DECREASING TO [1901] - 71.851.
FOR FIGURES SEE MAP.
FOR OTHER STATISTICS SEE BACK OF MAP.
PALL MALL.
St JAMES' PARK.
WESTMINSTER BRIDGE
St MARGARET. 2.513
CHRISTCHURCH. 4.193
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
St ANDREW 6.847.
VICTORIA STREET
St MATTHEW 6.158.
VICTORIA STATION
VAUXHALL
WESTMINSTER
NORSE FERRY ROAD.
LAMBETH BRIDGE.
St STEPHEN 1976.
St JOHN. 9.279.
St PETER. (PART)
St MARY. 3.657.
BRIDGE ROAD
St PHILIP 3.069
St JAMES THE LESS. 2.935.
HOLY TRINITY.
BELGRAVE ROAD
St GABRIEL 16.646
LUPUS STREET.
5.909.
VAUXHALL BRIDGE
St SAVIOUR 8.469
P I M L I C O
GROSVENOR ROAD.
VAUXHALL.
VICTORIA BRIDGE
R I V E R T H A M E S
GROSVENOR PLACE ROAD.
BUCKINGHAM PALACE

STATISTICS *bearing on the* AREA INCLUDED IN SKETCH MAP NO. 10. *Described in Chapter I. (Vol. III., Part II.).*

CENSUS STATISTICS.

Showing Increase or Decrease of Population.

Population in				Decrease per Cent.	
1881.	1891.	1896.	1901.	1881-1891.	1891-1901.
60,175	55,774	53,589	51,299	7·3 %	8·0 %

Density of Population.	
1891.	1901.
Persons per Acre.	
67·8	66·1
Inhabited Houses.	
5,608	4,563
Persons per House.	
9·9	11·2
Number of Acres.	
823	

Age and Sex in 1891.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Together.
Under 5 years	2,733	2,866	5,599
5 & under 15 yrs	4,721	4,794	9,515
— 20 ,,	2,704	2,455	5,159
— 25 ,,	3,625	3,140	6,765
— 35 ,,	5,441	5,330	10,771
— 45 ,,	3,718	3,936	7,654
— 55 ,,	2,541	2,688	5,229
— 65 ,,	1,431	1,648	3,079
65 and over	786	1,217	2,003
Totals ...	27,700	28,074	55,774

NOTE.—These Statistics refer only to Westminster (the civil parishes of St. John and St. Margaret). Pimlico, which is included in the sketch map, is part of the Belgrave Registration sub-district. This area is divided almost equally by the Buckingham Palace Road, and the figures respecting it are included with those for the West End in Chapter II. In this district block dwellings form a large proportion of the occupied houses. The Census counts a block of model dwellings or residential mansions as a single house although many separately occupied tenements may be included. This unduly increases the average numbers of persons per house, and may explain the increased crowding in 1901. Details of the Special Family Enumeration are given in the Appendix.

SPECIAL ENUMERATION FOR THIS INQUIRY (1891).

Sex, Birthplace and Industrial Status of Heads of Families.

Sex.		Birthplace.		Industrial Status.			Total Heads.
Male.	Female.	In London.	Out of London.	Employers	Employees	Neither.	
9,944 76 %	3,166 24 %	5,807 44 %	7,303 56 %	1,023 8 %	9,000 69 %	3,087 23 %	13,110 100 %

Constitution of Families.

Heads.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total in Families.
13,110 (1·0)	10,435 (·80)	23,009 (1·75)	4,147 (·32)	50,701 (3·87)

Social Classification according to *Rooms Occupied* or *Servants Kept.*

	Persons.	Per Cent.	
4 or more persons to a room	3,964	7·1	Crowded 38·6 %
3 & under 4 ,, ,,	5,343	9·6	
2 & ,, 3 ,, ,,	12,225	21·9	
1 & ,, 2 ,, ,,	12,322	22·1	Not Crowded 61·4 %
Less than 1 person to a room	1,671	3·0	
Occupying more than 4 rooms	6,089	10·9	
4 or more persons to 1 servant	1,637	2·9	
Less than 4 persons to 1 servant & 4 to 7 persons to 2 servants	1,317	2·3	
All others with 2 or more servants	1,986	3·5	
Servants in families	4,147	7·6	
Inmates of Institutions (including servants)	5,073	9·1	
Total	55,774	100	
Living in Poverty (as estimated in 1889)		34·3 %	100 %
,, in Comfort (,, ,,)		65·7 %	

of which much has already taken place, whilst more is contemplated. In the older parts, at any rate, the area of poverty is diminishing ; but the final results are still doubtful. Nothing so systematic as the action of the late Duke of Westminster in Mayfair is in progress, or could perhaps be expected. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who are the greatest landholders, are either less enterprising or, it may be, have less control ; but it is thought that their duty as trustees is not incompatible with a wide outlook for the public good; they might, it is suggested, take more advantage of the opportunities obtained when leases fall in, or in the more flagrant cases of neglectful ownership might use their power to exercise some pressure upon the leaseholders in advance. There have been schemes before Parliament for dealing with the river front, but so far they have come to nothing. Something more complete and far-reaching is needed, and could be secured perhaps by some public improvement scheme, if undertaken by the new Borough of Westminster.

At present the changes progress without any general plan. In some cases, when old houses are replaced by flats built for an altogether different class of occupant, the poor remain in the adjacent houses alongside of the rich ; but when this is so there seems to be no sign that they have any effect on each other. A mixture of class is realized, but without any advantage arising from it. Moreover, the present state of things is transitory. The poor will leave ; old houses in which they live are doomed, and it is unlikely that many of them will be accommodated in the new buildings to be erected. The new population will be of a different character ; but it is very much to be hoped that it will include a considerable working-class element.

Apart from the well-to-do, the population as it exists consists mainly of two classes; the larger and increasing

section being working people, as contrasted with the less reputable inhabitants of such a spot as Great Peter Street and the hangers on of charity. Among the working section there are 'brewers' men, policemen, postmen, and railway employees ; a good many waiters engaged at clubs, men working at the Army and Navy Stores, and mechanics of various kinds.' It is such inhabitants as these that Westminster should if possible retain. There are also many respectable widows employed as office cleaners who would rightly find here their home.

In the district of ancient poverty just mentioned we have a very large area demanding reconstruction, much of which is, at any rate, extremely well suited for permanent working-class accommodation. The process of rebuilding is going on piecemeal, and only requires a guidance and an encouragement in that direction, to be arranged with fair prospect of profit for working-class dwellings of the block type, which, without being so costly and high in rental as to exclude the regularly employed among the present inhabitants, might yet do something to raise the standard of health and happiness in Westminster.

In no neighbourhood would such dwellings be more useful, or more likely, if well designed and well built, to be permanently profitable. For no other purpose is a considerable portion of the district equally suitable. It is not so subject as are the parts of London which surround the City, to enhancement of values from the competition of business premises (the extension of the Army and Navy Stores is exceptional) ; nor is much of it so suitable or so likely to be used for rich men's houses as Upper Chelsea. The area required for offices and chambers will always be limited ; and though it is difficult to forecast the ways of fashion, it is perhaps not likely that the area so occupied will extend far from the frontages provided by Victoria

Street on the one side, and the river embankment on the other. Elsewhere, in the less desirable situations, if flats are built, but are not well tenanted, there is the danger, almost amounting to certainty, that unsatisfactory characters will get in, as has so largely happened in the adjoining district to the South and West of Vauxhall Bridge Road.

Thus the future of this area may be largely governed by the way in which it is laid out; by the class of building encouraged by the public authority, and by the possibility of bringing the owners of property into line on some scheme advantageous to all.

At present the disreputable classes are still very much in evidence in Westmister. This is especially the case in the parishes of St. Matthew and St. John, but even St. Margaret's, although mostly given up to public buildings, still contains in Lewisham Street one rather black spot. A very bad name is given to this street by the police and those accustomed to visit it, and it is rather extraordinary that such a place should exist here, so near to where fashion lingers in Queen Anne's Gate. The church has, with remarkable and commendable enterprise, secured the lease (with twenty-one years to run) of seventeen houses in this street; and the clergy hope, by combining the power of ownership with the exercise of other influence, to change its character. They admit that in the process some of the old inhabitants will have to go, but hope to retain most. It is a very interesting experiment. The length of lease gives it full scope, otherwise the special situation is such that this property, if it were available, would almost surely be taken for other purposes than working-class dwellings.

There is nothing much lower to be found anywhere in London than the life led in some of the Westminster courts and streets. The doors of the houses standing open disclose bare passages and stairways; dirty women

congregate on the doorsteps, dirty children play in the gutter, and larrikins loaf at the street corners ; there is always a great deal of drinking, and there is some crime. The common lodging-houses accommodate the lowest classes, both male and female. If these people are disturbed by the demolitions, clearances and evictions in one part, they reappear in another, and they carry their manners and customs into the new quarters wherever they live.

Nor does low life furnish the only disreputable people. There are blocks of mansions containing very 'dubious occupants' ; women whose 'sole claim to respectability is that they are well dressed' ; not alone 'kept women,' who may be very careful in behaviour, but also many stylish prostitutes. These elegant people are even less amenable to religious influence than their rough sisters of the low streets 'who have never known what virtue is.'

Nor is it the disreputable classes only with whom the churches find it difficult to deal. The fashionable dwellers in flats are seldom seen at church, and are not easily approached. Even if not of the 'vagrant' class—those whose rooms are let and re-let time and again without number ; who come and go, no one knowing who or what they are—even if of the highest respectability, these flat-dwellers are continually on the move in and out of town, and cannot be relied on to share in either the worship or work of the churches. Finally, the working classes, though they are civil enough and quite accessible to visits, 'don't care.' The binding together of such elements is like 'twisting a rope of sand.' Even the Roman Catholic priest speaks of the difficulties of the task as regards many of his flock ; for ever 'hunting, hunting, hunting,' confronted by leaden indifference.

On the whole, the numbers of the disreputable poor have decreased. Besides being shuffled from

street to street, and parish to parish, within the district, there has been a considerable exodus, partly into Lambeth, but mainly to Battersea and to Fulham, where a new Alsatia is being found.

The churches are, however, alive, and, in spite of the difficulties I have referred to, are fairly filled, both morning and evening, with congregations collected partly from outside and partly from amongst the upper working-class dwellers in some of the new buildings. The church services are extremely attractive. In several instances the eloquence of the preaching is remarkable and far-famed, and in at least one the music given is exquisite. The work done amongst the poor has little connection with any of this. The services neither attract the poor themselves, nor do they form the bond amongst those who from religious motives seek to minister to their wants. Services are held in special mission rooms, in the hope of reaching those who do not come to church, but to very little purpose. Women will go where they are helped, and in some of these a rather debased form of piety is aroused. Men seldom attend at all. It is the old story of middle-class residents, the few there are in this locality are probably Nonconformists.

There is much systematic visitation, and on this rests the value of the religious work of the churches among their parishioners; there are also some notable social organizations. In St. Stephen's parish, where there were already large schools, a Technical Institute was established, which obtained six hundred students, and has recently been taken over by the Technical Education Board. There is also a large club which is made the centre of much social work, including a 'self-help' organization, based on a modified system of co-operation, in which ordinary retail shops are dealt with, the special discounts for cash being paid over to the Society for periodical distribution among the

members. The success of the Society has been so remarkable that operations have had to be strictly limited to the parish, for they threatened to grow beyond all bounds, and much detailed work is involved which is given voluntarily. Herein lies the difficulty of such efforts; the amount of social work falling on the clergy becomes overwhelming. Compared to it, 'Sunday is child's play.' At St. Matthew's, too, the activity is great and the work unceasing. In a letter to his parishioners, the vicar deprecates the idea that the multiplicity of organizations are any true test of progress, which, he writes, is something that 'the world's coarse thumb and finger' fails to measure; but the organizations exist and are full of life. The parish magazine is largely occupied with the accounts of concerts and entertainments. Much effort is made, much money is raised and spent, the pressure of their work on the clergy is great, and the results are disappointing.

The work of the Church of England is by far the most important in Westminster, but there are two or three undenominational missions, and some City Missionaries, who obtain a measure of support from the better working class though they also fail to rouse any genuine religious response among the poor. Common lodging-houses are visited and services held therein, but, from a religious point of view, no effect can be traced. That a certain friendliness results is, however, indicated by a cricket match we hear of between eleven men from one of these houses and eleven missionaries. There is as great difficulty in touching the lowest stratum by anything the missionaries can do as by the 'numerous and varied' social organizations of the churches. For instance, it is said, no club really gets the rough boys as a class, though in every club there may be some tamed specimens,

caught and gradually educated. Take it all in all, little spiritual progress can be claimed. It is honestly confessed to be 'terribly slow work.'

The story of one of these missions is remarkable. It began as a ragged school, to which were added a working men's club and youths' institute. All these have passed away. The men were allowed to manage the club, but three secretaries in succession misappropriated money. The youths' institute died with the lady who managed and subsidized it, and the Ragged Day school was killed by the introduction of Board schools. There still remain the Sunday school and mothers' meeting, and, in addition, scantily-attended services are held. The distinctive work lies in the management of a large block of buildings, built with money borrowed at 3 per cent., and let at low, but economic rents. The tenants are not selected in regard to any personal connection with the mission work, but it is their landlord, and makes their welfare its main object. This work has been largely the employment of one man's spare hours; a professional man retired from active work and growing old.

The Baptists have a church in which, as usual, we find a gathering of small tradesmen and clerks, with a larger proportion of the working class than is seen elsewhere. But the total numbers of the congregation are small. Many of its members come from a distance, being former residents who have moved away. This church is not of the austere order of Baptist, and gives 'Pleasant Saturday Evenings' for the people, which are 'always full, and sometimes crammed;' its temperance work, too, is enlivened with entertainments, and amongst the young people the work of mutual improvement includes gymnastics, football, and other games. The church seeks to do its duty by the poor who live near with open-air services and by visitation. To this end a band of twenty

visitors has been organized, who call at seven hundred dwellings on Sunday, or during the week—no doubt to leave some printed matter.

The Wesleyans have a large, but not very well filled church, partly connected with, and partly overshadowed by, their great college in Horseferry Road. It is situated close to the blackest street in Westminster. They, too, attempt systematic visiting, and have Saturday night entertainments to attract the people. The congregation, beyond the students from the college, who fill it up in term time, consists mostly of shop assistants, and others of the same regularly employed, respectable, well-dressed class.

All alike—churches, chapels, and missions—have their mothers' meetings and Sunday schools, and the churches have also large day schools. Nothing is wanting. Attractive and varied services, eloquent preaching, systematic visiting, eagerness to meet and help the poor, the children taught and the mothers sought, no lack of means, a pouring out of energy concentrated on some small group of streets within a quarter of a mile of Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament; and yet it can hardly be denied that such improvement as can be traced in the morals or habits of the people is mainly due, not to all this, but to structural alterations; and that it is to these physical changes, to the destruction of bad property, combined with better policing and improved sanitary supervision, and not to religion or even education, that we have chiefly to look for further improvement in the future.

This part of Westminster still contains over two thousand Roman Catholics in charge of a settlement of Jesuit Fathers, who in this case undertake parish work. Their flock is, however, decreasing with the displacement of the poor, who were largely Irish or

Cockney Irish. A better class are coming in, but they are not Catholics. To the remaining poor a good deal goes in charity. 'They are awful beggars,' and even by the Roman Catholics the danger is felt here of the people learning to look upon the priest as a person who may be expected to give.

The parishes of St. Mary, St. James the Less, and Holy Trinity, with the southern portion of St. John, contain the overflowings of the poor, and in them we encounter the same problems, only (except as regards St. John's) in a less acute form. We find also a quiet, though not less earnest, effort to cope with them; but, to see how small a part religious observance plays in the lives of the people, one need only compare the numbers who attend the services at the three churches first mentioned, to which no outsiders come, and where consequently the nakedness of the land is visible, with the total population for whose spiritual wants the churches are supposed to provide.

The prospects and conditions are much the same throughout. Changes impending, leases falling in, slums to be cleared, and the principal ground landlord the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

This portion of the district, though not yet scheduled for destruction to the same extent, nevertheless falls in with the great opportunities that offer for carrying out the noble plan of reconstruction afforded by the river front, and can contribute as its share the large open space resulting from the destruction of Millbank Penitentiary, already partly occupied by the Tate Gallery, by a building for the Army Service Corps, and, further from the river, by blocks of County Council dwellings.

In the district at large, to whatever combination of

causes it may be set down, it is recognised that there has been improvement. As to crime, so far as the amelioration is local, it is undoubtedly due to clearances, and some effect is attributed to the destruction of the prison, round about which the discharged prisoners and ticket-of-leave men were, it is said, apt to linger. In addition, Westminster has fully shared in improved police administration, and though one of the missionaries speaks of daylight robberies occurring in Great Peter Street quite recently, he also says that lady cyclists now pass through, a thing they would not have ventured to do a few years ago. As to drink, many public-houses have been closed mainly through the action of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but I do not gather that there is any less drinking. 'More amongst women, less among men,' is the usual opinion—and here, as elsewhere, the changed attitude of women generally, in that they now enter the public-house without any feeling of shame, is mentioned.

The poverty remains. Its causes lie deep. The funds available for its relief are large, and where poverty is endowed, it is apt to persist. The administration of relief is, perhaps, as good as can be expected. The clergy claim that they follow Charity Organization principles 'as far as possible,' holding, as it is whimsically expressed, that there are cases which, on these principles, may quite rightly be refused by the good Samaritan, yet which 'the priest and Levite cannot pass by.'

On the whole things are better than they were. The area of poverty is more circumscribed; there is less violence and less brutality, and in these directions the improvement is likely to go on and go further.

§ 2

SOUTH PIMLICO

Between Victoria Station and Lupus Street, bounded on the East by Tachbrook Street, there is a singularly unsatisfactory district. In our map part of it is tinted yellow, but that portion of it is diminishing; the remainder is partly red and partly pink, including many streets in which the status of the inhabitants is indicated by the mixture of pink with a bar of red. Of purple and of blue there is hardly any. In other words, there is an absence of marked poverty, and every indication throughout of working or middle-class comfort, and of what aims at fashion and may pass for wealth in the squares and principal streets.

These yellow or lately yellow streets and squares, tend year by year to become shabbier. Even the well-to-do occupants seem often to take little pride in their houses. At best it is a depressing district, passing, as regards much of it, from the shabbiness of shabby gentility to the gradual decay and grimy dilapidation which is apt to overtake houses built for another class, and altogether unsuited for their present occupants: short of paint, the plaster peeling and cracking; sordid and degraded dwellings, they remain a nightmare in the memory.

South of Lupus Street red becomes pink and pink purple, and, if the process of decay continues, purple will soon become blue; while the one patch of blue shown on the map of 1889 has, in the interval, acquired a black line. But even here there is no squalor, no striking poverty.

It is not the shabby gentility of the one part, nor the increasing poverty of the other, that is the main trouble, but the fact that the whole district swarms with prostitutes. The streets near Victoria Station are their home parade; the small hotels in Vauxhall

Bridge Road their houses of accommodation, and the pink streets barred with red their dwelling place. These young women usually room two together and are satisfactory as lodgers. If they ply their trade altogether away from their abodes little can be said, and, with regard to their way of life, an eye is shut. Even if the good rule that maintains the respectability of the home is broken, if hansoms drive up at night, it is difficult for the authorities to take action so long as the neighbours make no complaint. And where there is so much of this kind of vice—in a number of streets every third house is said to be affected by it—public opinion becomes lax.

There is more hope of improvement in the poor part to the South. Half this area is occupied by great works, for so long as the wharves remain it is well-situated for trade; and it contains some of the best model dwellings in London. St. George's Square, too, has an out of the way charm of its own which, making little pretence after fashion, seems to defy decay; while the river frontage offers many advantages. Thus it may be hoped that some healthy development will check the spread in this direction of the disreputable and decaying condition of the district to the North, and prevent any further influx of squalid poverty and disorder from the evictions in Westminster.

A portion of this district is included with the rich parish of St. Peter, Eaton Square, which has a second church, St. John, on the south side of Victoria Station, but the bulk of it is divided between St. Gabriel's and St. Saviour's. In the churches of both of these parishes the ritual is High, and in St. Saviour's especially so. They are both fairly active, and they combine forces in carrying on day schools. Though not full, they have considerable congregations. Both speak of the decline of the neighbourhood, but their people are not to be accounted poor, and some of them,

we are told, in one case, resented the introduction of a curate because he came from the East End and therefore could not be a suitable man for them. To be told that the very best men were sent to the East End was no satisfaction. So, too, the Methodist minister tries to visit, but finds the people very shy; 'hiding their poverty,' which he thinks is greater than appears. The services at his chapel are very poorly attended, its supporters having left. The Wesleyans do better, but, compared to the size of their chapel, the membership is small, and they also lose members by removal. The Congregationalists have two churches and they, too, find it difficult to hold their members. Young people who marry, dislike to live in 'buildings,' and are apt to leave. Those who attend regularly form a small inner circle. On occasion these two chapels combine forces. They are situated very near together, and one would seem to be enough. There is also a Baptist Mission which uses a building owned by the Wesleyans.

The parish of St. Andrew, lying to the north of the district we have been describing, comprises a more satisfactory area, but here, as elsewhere, the residents in flats are of little good to the church; workers are not easily found and are hard to keep. The Congregationalists have a great and empty church: the shell of a popular preacher, who has passed on, and whose place it is not easy to fill. In this parish, also, the Roman Catholics have their great English centre. Here resides the Cardinal Archbishop, and here is building the great cathedral, to the services in which Catholics will come from all parts; but the neighbouring mission church has lost the bulk of its old congregation, for the Catholic poor have gone.

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES. MAP L. (VOL. III., PART II., CHAPTER I.) Westminster and South Pimlico.

Adjoining Maps—N. West Central (Vol. II.). E. Inner South (Vol. IV.). S. Battersea and Clapham (Vol. V.). W. Inner West (p. 136).

General Character.—The map comprises the district of Westminster (St. John), and the greater part of Pimlico. A Royal palace, a large public school, Westminster Abbey, the Houses of Parliament, as well as several public offices, are within the map; Wellington Barracks is just within the northern, and Chelsea Barracks just without the western boundary. The range of colour is from yellow, through every grade of red and blue, to black. Buckingham Palace is included, as well as Chadwick Street (black). Between St. James's Park and Victoria Street there is wealth mixed with comfortable working-class streets, and a few very small patches of poverty. Between Victoria Street and the river there is wealth, chiefly in flats, with a large working-class area containing great poverty and vice of old standing. In Pimlico, to the West, there are the remains of wealth, and a number of lodging-house streets, notorious for the prostitutes who live in them (*vide* p. 87).

Poverty Areas.—Old standing poverty is found in small patches in Lewisham Street (*vide* p. 79); off Great Peter Street, where are situated low-class lodging-houses for men and for women; off Tufton Street, and off Regency Street, where it is connected with gasworkers and loafers. The amount of great poverty is decreasing, owing to the demolition of slums and the removal of Millbank prison, which gave a bad name to the district.

Employments.—Brewers' men, policemen, postmen and railway men; many waiters engaged at the clubs; also men working at the Army and Navy Stores, and piano makers and other mechanics. The women are domestic servants, office cleaners, shop assistants, machinists and flower sellers. There are many prostitutes. The poorest are the common lodging-house population of cadgers and loafers and the gasworkers, and a few riverside workers and builders' labourers. The chief centres of employment in the district are Victoria Railway Station, Watney's Brewery, the Army and Navy Stores, the gasworks, Broadwood's piano works, the Government clothing factory, and several riverside wharves. Large numbers, both of men and women, come in daily to their work.

Housing and Rents.—The flats off Victoria Street are rented at from £300. a year downwards, the prices in Victoria Street itself being rather higher. Working-class tenements of two to four rooms with a scullery, fetch 6*s* 3*d* to 10*s* 6*d*. In a 'black' street, the houses (which have three storeys, contain six rooms each, and are in bad repair) are mostly let in furnished rooms, the rent of one room being 5*s*. In Pimlico, where the houses have mostly three and a half storeys, and 16-ft. frontage, the rent for single rooms is 3*s* 6*d* to 4*s* 6*d*. In a 'light blue barred with black' street the rent is 4*s* for a single room (1898-99).

Markets.—Strutton Ground and the east end of Warwick Street are working-class markets. The rich buy at the Army and Navy Stores and in Buckingham Palace Road.

Public-houses are found in plenty over the whole district, being most numerous in Westminster; a large portion of them are fully licensed.

Places of Amusement.—The Royal Aquarium, with a theatre next to it (the sites of which have been recently acquired by the Wesleyans for their central establishment in London), and a music-hall in Victoria Street, are the chief local places of Amusement.

Open Spaces.—Public open spaces are St. James's Park in the North, St. John's Garden and Victoria Tower Gardens in Westminster, and St. George's Gardens and some open space by the river front in the South. There are also a fair number of private squares in Pimlico; and Dean's Yard, Vincent Square, the garden of the Grey Coat Hospital, and the open ground round the Tate Gallery, and the river, give, on the whole, a sufficiency of air space. The darkest and most airless streets are those on either side of Victoria Street, over-shadowed by high buildings.

Health.—Health is moderate, and the sanitary conditions unsatisfactory in the older parts of Westminster. The ground is low, and the greater part of the district is on blue clay.

Changes of Population.—Changes are due to the building of a large number of flats and offices round Victoria Street, the demolition of slum areas, and the migration of fashion from Pimlico. The rich migrants have gone to Chelsea and Kensington, the poor to Fulham, Lambeth and Battersea. Those who have come in are rich vagrants and bachelors, and Members of Parliament, to whom flats near the centre of official and fashionable London are a convenience; and fairly comfortable artisans, drawn from the surrounding streets and also from outside.

Means of Locomotion.—Victoria Station is the only large terminus in the map; the Metropolitan Railway touches the northern part of the district at Victoria and St. James's Park stations. The only tramway—a slow one along Vauxhall Bridge Road—will, it is to be hoped, when the new Vauxhall Bridge is finished, be converted from horse traction to electricity, and continued across the river into South London. Several omnibus routes traverse the district, most of them converging on Victoria Station. A line of trams is needed along the Thames front from Westminster Bridge to Chelsea, but is strongly opposed by the rich inhabitants on the line of route, who fear the noise and a possible inrush of traffic.

PLACES OF WORSHIP.

List of Parish Churches in the district described in Chapter I. (Vol. III., Part II.), with other PLACES OF WORSHIP grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes.

Christ Church, Westminster.
Wellington Barracks' Chapel.

Holy Trinity, Vauxhall Bridge Rd.
Bessboro' Place Mission.
L. C. Miss., Dorset St.

St. Andrew, Westminster.
Westminster Chapel (Cong.), James St.
St. Peter and St. Edward (R.C.), Palace St.

St. Gabriel, Pimlico.
All Saints', Grosvenor Rd.
U. Meth. Free Ch., Westmoreland St.
Brethren's Meeting Room, 6, Sutherland Terrace.
Old Bapt. Union Miss., 57, Winchester St.

St. James the Less, Upper Garden St.

St. John, Smith Square.
St. John's Miss., Horseferry Rd.
Bapt. Ch., Romney St.

St. Margaret, Westminster.
Westminster Abbey.
St. Margaret's Miss., New Tothill St.
Dartmouth Hall, Lewisham St.

St. Mary, Tothill Fields.
Salv. Army Hall, Regency St.

St. Matthew, Westminster.
Miss. of Good Shepherd, St. Matthew St.
Wesl. Ch., Horseferry Rd.
St. Mary's (R.C.), Horseferry Rd.

St. Matthew (*continued*)—
Pear St. Miss., Strutton Ground.
L. C. Miss., Chadwick St.
One Tun Miss., Old Pye St.

St. Peter, Eaton Square.
Part of this Parish is within this district. For list of Places of worship see Chapter II., p. 135.

St. Philip, Buckingham Palace Rd.
Bapt. Miss. Pimlico Rooms, Warwick St.
Guards' Miss., 58, Hugh St.
Conference Hall, Eccleston St.
[The church and part of this parish is west of Buckingham Palace Road.]

St. Saviour, Pimlico.
Chapel of the Holy Name, 2, Aylesford St.
Wesl. Ch., Claverton St.

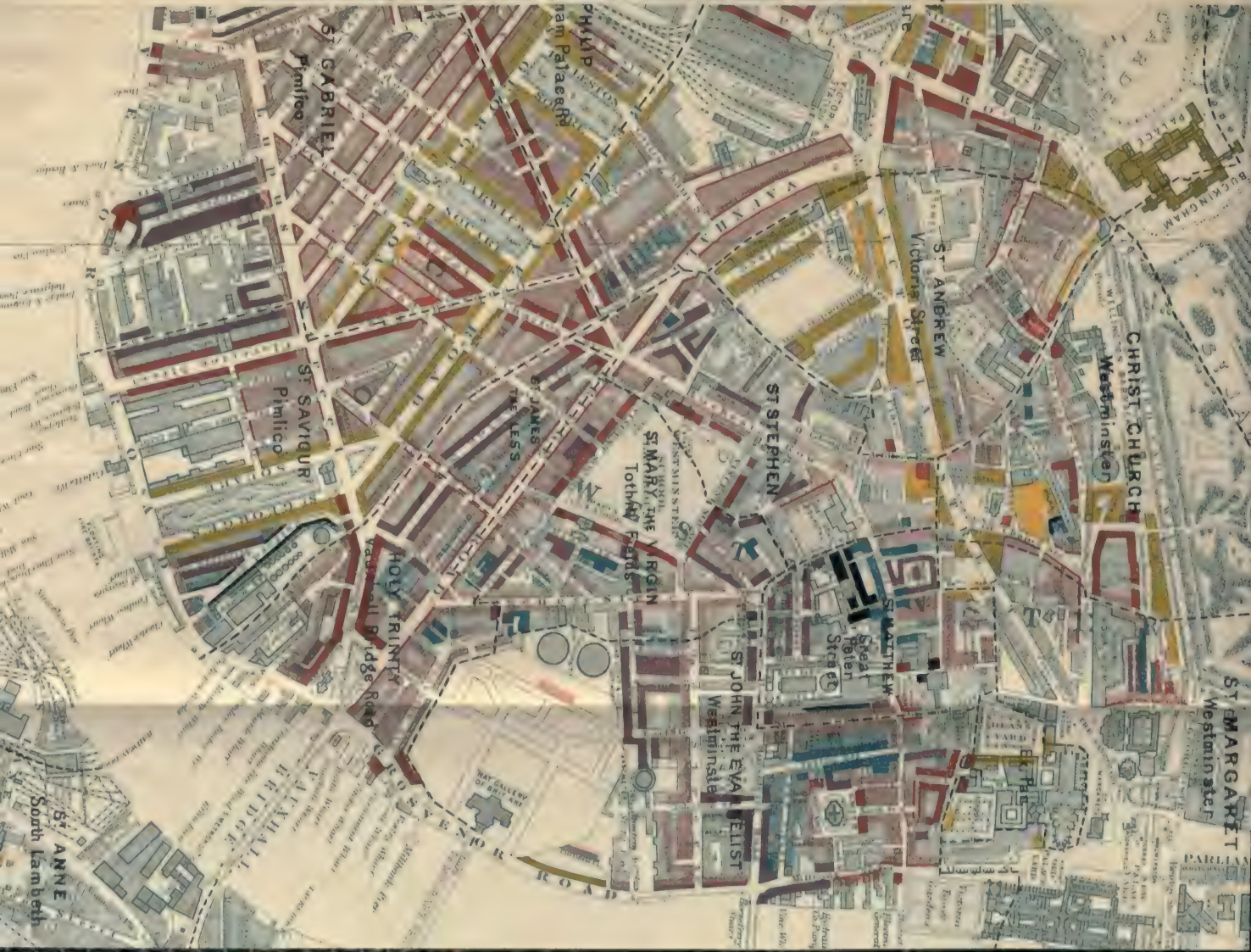
St. Stephen, Westminster.
St. Stephen's Miss., Pepys' House, Rochester Row.

Map L.—WESTMINSTER AND PIMLICO (1900).

The Streets are coloured according to social condition of inhabitants as under:—

Lowest Class | Very Poor | Moderate Poverty | Poverty & Comfort (mixed) | Fairly Comfortable | Well-to-do | Wealthy

Combined colouring (as Pink and Red) indicates a mixture of the Classes which the Colours represent.



CHAPTER II

THE INNER WEST

§ 1

GENERAL PLAN

In this chapter I deal with the district surrounding Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens, and lying, for the most part, within half a mile of that quadrilateral. It is the home of fashion and of wealth. The shopping streets remain red, but here, in place of blue and purple, as in the poor parts of London, the principal tint on our map is yellow.

The outward appearance of this district is too well known to demand description: its gloom in November, the fairy transformation of April, and the marvellous greenery of May and June; the rushing life of the season followed by the emptiness of August, and the weird effect of shut-up houses in the autumn months. Everyone who is acquainted with London knows something of this district of 'Squares' and 'Gardens,' 'Places' and 'Terraces,' with here and there a group of great shops, but interspersed throughout with the streets of smaller shops occupied by local tradesmen; and filled in, behind the stately houses, with picturesque rows of stabling going by the name of mews, the like of which do not, so far as I know, exist anywhere else in the world. Nor

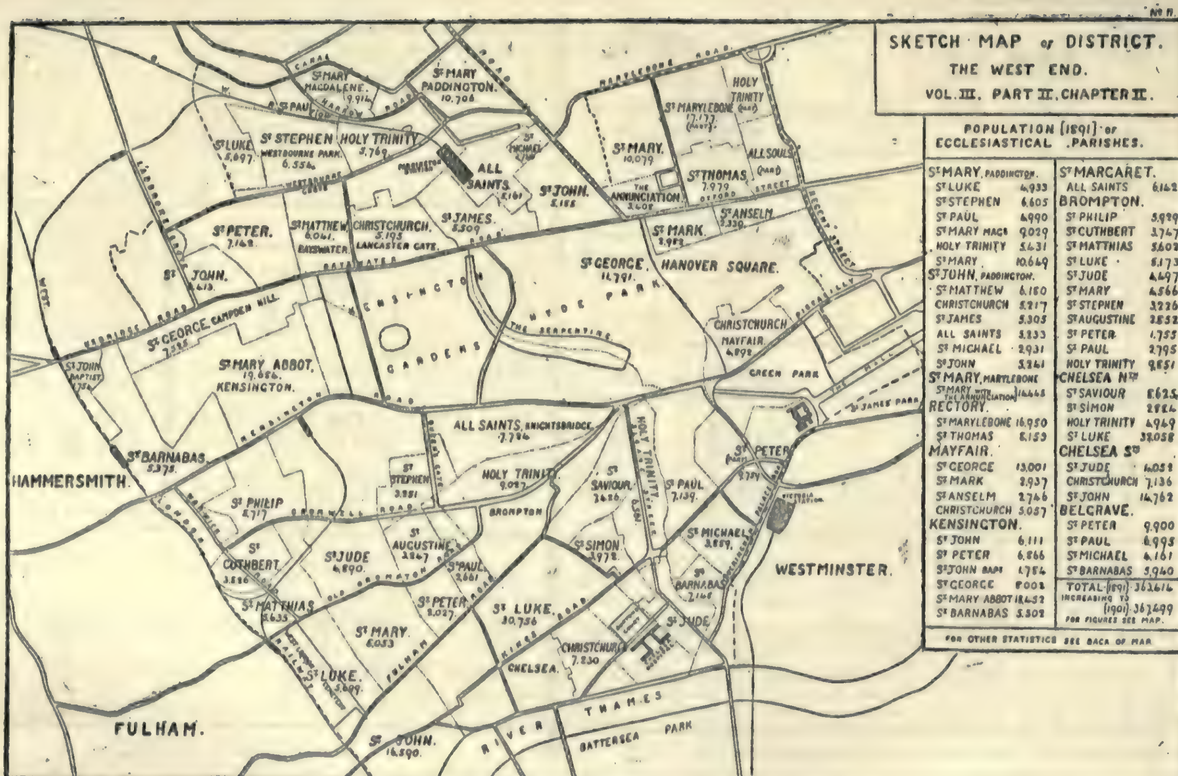
need I do more than refer to the principal natural feature, the great chain of royal parks, with their gravel walks, green turf and shady trees. Neither shall I attempt any general description of the lives of those who live in this district, but shall be content with whatever passing glimpses and sidelights as may be afforded by a review of such of its activities as fall within the scope of the present inquiry.

In this review I begin with Mayfair, proceeding thence westward by the north side of the park through Bayswater and southward to Kensington and Brompton, returning eastward to the district known as Belgravia and as far as Pimlico, concluding with the river front of Chelsea to the South and Paddington to the North, both of which strike rather a different note. The outer West, from Paddington by Kensal Town to Hammersmith and Fulham, will be left for another chapter.

§ 2

MAYFAIR

The parishes of Christ Church and St. George, Hanover Square, include the greater and most characteristic part of Mayfair. Not all who live in these parishes are rich, but the inhabitants include, together with their households, many of the wealthiest people in London. The rich cannot, however, in this neighbourhood be considered good parishioners. They lack regularity, whether as workers or as churchgoers, and their action is consequently intermittent, uncertain and unsatisfactory, although they provide overflowing congregations at the fashion-


SKETCH MAP of DISTRICT.
THE WEST END.
VOL. III. PART II. CHAPTER II.
POPULATION (1891) of ECCLESIASTICAL PARISHES.
St MARY, PADDINGTON.
St LUKE 4,933
St STEPHEN 6,605
St PAUL 4,990
St MARY MAGS 9,029
HOLY TRINITY 5,631
St MARY 10,649
St JOHN, PADDINGTON.
St MATTHEW 6,160
CHRISTCHURCH 5,217
St JAMES 5,305
ALL SAINTS 3,233
St MICHAEL 2,931
St JOHN 5,261
St MARY, MARYLEBONE
St MARY WITH THE ANNUNCIATION 16,445
RECTORY.
St MARYLEBONE 16,950
St THOMAS 8,159
MAYFAIR.
St GEORGE 13,001
St MARK 2,937
St ANSELM 2,746
CHRISTCHURCH 5,057
KENSINGTON.
St JOHN 6,111
St PETER 6,866
St JOHN BAPT 1,754
St GEORGE 8,002
St MARY ABBOT 18,452
St BARNABAS 5,302
St MARGARET.
ALL SAINTS 6,162
BROMPTON.
St PHILIP 5,999
St CUTHBERT 3,747
St MATTHIAS 3,602
St LUKE 5,173
St JUDE 4,497
St MARY 4,566
St STEPHEN 3,226
St AUGUSTINE 2,852
St PETER 1,755
St PAUL 2,795
HOLY TRINITY 9,851
CHELSEA Nth
St SAVIOUR 8,625
St SIMON 2,824
HOLY TRINITY 4,949
St LUKE 32,058
CHELSEA Sth
St JUDE 4,058
CHRISTCHURCH 7,136
St JOHN 14,762
BELGRAVE.
St PETER 9,900
St PAUL 6,995
St MICHAEL 4,161
St BARNABAS 5,940
TOTAL (1891) 363,616
INCREASING TO (1901) 367,499
FOR FIGURES SEE MAP.
FOR OTHER STATISTICS SEE BACK OF MAP
HAMMERSMITH.
FULHAM.
WESTMINSTER.
KENSINGTON GARDENS
HYDE PARK
GREEN PARK
RIVER THAMES
BATTERSEA PARK

STATISTICS *bearing on the* AREA INCLUDED IN SKETCH MAP NO. II. *Described in Chapter II. (Vol. III., Part II.).*

CENSUS STATISTICS.

Showing Increase or Decrease of Population.

Population in				Increase *or Decrease.*	
1881.	1891.	1896.	1901.	1881-1891.	1891-1901.
358,647	357,496	367,405	364,133	·29 %	1·86 %

Density of Population.	
1891.	1901.
Persons per Acre.	
90·5	92·6
Inhabited Houses.	
46,003	43,169
Persons per House.	
7·8	8·4
Number of Acres.	
3,948	

Age and Sex in 1891.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Together.
Under 5 years	15,236	15,373	30,609
5 & under 15 yrs	26,446	27,654	54,100
— 20 ,,	14,140	20,745	34,885
— 25 ,,	16,285	27,946	44,231
— 35 ,,	27,357	44,205	71,562
— 45 ,,	19,944	28,179	48,123
— 55 ,,	14,275	19,915	34,190
— 65 ,,	8,865	12,946	21,811
65 and over	6,812	11,173	17,985
Totals ...	149,360	208,136	357,496

NOTE.—The district includes Mayfair, and part of the Belgrave Registration sub-district of St. George, Hanover Square, Chelsea, Brompton, the southern part of Kensington Town, a detached portion of St. Margaret Westminster, St. John and St. Mary Paddington (except the Ecclesiastical parishes of St. Saviour and St. Peter), and the Rectory, Cavendish Square, and St. Mary sub-districts of Marylebone (except the ecclesiastical parishes of St. Mark and St. Luke). In these figures the whole of Belgrave is included as well as the four ecclesiastical parishes mentioned above. Cavendish Square (now combined with All Souls) is omitted, as well as the detached parts of St. Margaret and Kensington Town. Owing to these omissions it is probable that the whole area is less crowded than here indicated. For Special Family Enumeration see Appendix.

SPECIAL ENUMERATION for this Inquiry (1891).

Sex, Birthplace and Industrial Status of Heads of Families.

Sex.		Birthplace.		Industrial Status.			Total Heads.
Male.	Female.	In London.	Out of London.	Employers	Employees	Neither.	
56,531 71 %	22,745 29 %	29,245 37 %	50,031 63 %	9,801 12 %	47,412 60 %	22,063 28 %	79,276 100 %

Constitution of Families.

Heads.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total in Families.
79,276 (1·0)	67,100 (·85)	139,879 (1·76)	52,395 (·66)	338,650 (4·27)

Social Classification according to *Rooms Occupied* or *Servants Kept.*

	Persons.	Per Cent.	
4 or more persons to a room	13,215	3·7	Crowded 25·3 %
3 & under 4 ,, ,,	22,734	6·4	
2 & ,, 3 ,, ,,	54,426	15·2	
1 & ,, 2 ,, ,,	70,168	19·6	
Less than 1 person to a room	12,881	3·6	Not Crowded 74·7 %
Occupying more than 4 rooms	44,132	12·3	
4 or more persons to 1 servant	18,739	5·3	
Less than 4 persons to 1 servant & 4 to 7 persons to 2 servants	16,945	4·7	
All others with 2 or more servants	33,015	9·2	
Servants in families	52,395	14·7	
Inmates of Institutions (including servants)	18,846	5·3	
Total	357,496	100	
Living in Poverty (as estimated in 1889)		17·4 %	100 %
,, in Comfort		82·6 %	

able churches in the season, and ample funds, when appealed to, given by preference to charitable rather than to strictly religious objects. The heads, and above all, the ladies of these rich households may more than likely have obligations in some country parish, with fully as strong a claim, which may interpose between them and similar duties in Mayfair. None the less the result is discouraging to the clergy here. Nor are bachelors in chambers of much use as parishioners, and of these, though not so numerous as in St. James's parish to the South, a good many may be counted here.

There is, too, an increasing area of business premises, especially in St. George's, Hanover Square, the occupiers of which, although they find their living here, are generally non-resident. These various influences, together with the restlessness of the age, are felt by the clergy to work in an anti-parochial direction. On the other hand, there is a new population of shop employees living in dwellings provided by their employers, and of caretakers of various kinds, with whom and for whom something may be done by the Church.

Of such working-class families as remain, and of those of private coachmen living in the mews, many of the parents and most of the children attend some place of worship, but, all told, the number of children is not great. It is a 'grown up' district. Such children as there are have more than average intelligence, which may probably be the result of contact, on the part of their parents and themselves, with highly educated people. A very interesting experiment was tried with these children: the old school building being adapted for a higher grade (*6d*) school, and a new building erected for elementary teaching with a penny fee. Only thirty of the children moved to the new school, and it remains

to be seen which of the two will finally be most popular.*

There is no longer any poverty in this district. A City missionary, who has worked here twenty-one years, finds his occupation gone. And the public-houses are going too. The late Duke of Westminster's improvements have swept away some twenty of them; but there are still too many; more, it is said, than can exist reputably. Touching upon this, a very characteristic feature of our time may be noted in the immense expenditure in this district on the alteration and decoration of private houses, the continual presence of workmen thus employed partly accounting for the large number of public-houses which remain, and which are otherwise mainly supported by coachmen and domestic servants.

In place of the odd corners where, less than twenty years ago, poverty lurked, we now have private houses of the best class, well-arranged mews and some working-class dwellings, which really are models. For the missionary the new comers are too respectable. He can seldom get beyond the threshold of their dwellings. There are, however, some poor to be encountered who are not residents, especially sandwich men, whose singular occupation causes them to walk the leading streets patiently from morn to night. The name is rapidly becoming a misnomer. A human being between two boards no longer suffices. To catch the eye of the passer-by something more is needed; and the men are made into peripatetic (and pathetic) double-decker advertising frames, sometimes illuminated at night. It is to be hoped that shorter hours or higher pay compensate for these developments. Piccadilly, Regent Street, and Oxford Street are among their best 'beats,' and

* A similar experiment was tried in the Loughborough Junction district with the same result.

this district lies between them. The men may frequently be seen resting from their labours in out of the way corners and quiet squares; evading their duty perhaps in order to unbuckle for a space and enjoy a whiff of tobacco; but in Grosvenor Mews there is a licensed gathering for a daily dinner provided from the parochial mission kitchen at a price which about covers the cost of the materials used: a banquet for the lowest paid of all wage-earners, set out amongst the stables of the rich, with, as a background, the great houses of Grosvenor Street and Berkeley Square!

To the north of St. George's, Hanover Square, is the small rich parish of St. Mark, and adjoining it the ecclesiastical district allotted to Hanover Chapel, the great portico of which the eye still misses at the top of Regent Street, but which has a new and beautiful home at St. Anselm's, in Davies Street. Originally it was a proprietary chapel, but from the prominence of its situation always attracted a congregation, and this is fully maintained under the new name in its new quarters. The ritual is somewhat High.

Among the private proprietary chapels for which this and the adjacent districts are remarkable, Berkeley Chapel, Berkeley Square, St. George's Chapel, Albemarle Street, and the Grosvenor Chapel, in South Audley Street, may be mentioned; but they play no recognizable part in the religious life of the neighbourhood. There is also the beautiful church of the Deaf and Dumb in Oxford Street, which is the chief centre of work among those afflicted in this way, and where one of the most interesting and touching services in London is held.

At the King's Weigh-house Chapel, which belongs to a Congregational community, an old historic name is perpetuated in this unexpected quarter. A large sum was received for the site of the former building on

Fish Street Hill, near the Monument, and the expenditure of this has produced a very fine and complete set of buildings in Duke Street, containing more accommodation than at present finds any complete use. The members still maintain their old mission work near the Royal Mint, but something more than has been accomplished must have been intended when the new buildings were erected in Mayfair. There would seem here to be an opportunity if any great preacher arose to take advantage of it.

The Salvation Army has invaded this district of wealth by taking Regent's Hall, Oxford Street, availing itself of the foil which the environment offers to its uncompromising gospel of heaven or hell. For a considerable time the hall was thronged with well-to-do strangers attracted by the novelty; but this has worn off. The galleries are only opened on Sunday, and only filled on special occasions, the central portion of the large hall sufficing for the ordinary and week evening congregations. There are frequent services, and that on Sunday evening, being prolonged by a prayer meeting till nearly 10 o'clock, no doubt catches some who look in on this after having attended another service elsewhere. Very strong religious meat is offered.

The Chapel of the Jesuits, in Farm Street, is allotted no particular district and does not need one. It is a church for the rich, and especially for propaganda amongst the rich. The services are numerous and attractive, the singing good, the ceremonial perfect; the building surprisingly beautiful, and the preachers gifted men. There is no service in the evening, 'their people dine late.' The work extends into other fields: fields of literature and controversy. The presbytery will accommodate a considerably larger number than those who are in more permanent residence, and is used almost like an hotel by many others of the Order who come and go through London.

§ 3

MARYLEBONE AND BAYSWATER

Crossing Oxford Street into Marylebone we find, betwixt Cavendish and Portman Squares, more or less along the ancient crooked track of Marylebone Lane, a district stamped with poverty. It is said to be on the eve of sweeping alterations, as the leases will shortly fall in and dwellings be erected for the well-to-do, and in these cases the poorest classes usually cling the most and stay to the very last. Meanwhile we have a heterogeneous population of dwellers in new flats and old houses attacked by half a dozen different religious agencies, each of which obtains a band of faithful adherents and some measure of public support. The Church of England, best represented by St. Thomas's and St. Marylebone; Nonconformists by the Wesleyans at Hinde Street, and the Evangelical missions by Gray's Yard, all deserve mention, and, together with the Roman Catholic organization in Spanish Place, which is vigorous in spite of rapid decrease in the Roman Catholic population, constitute a very complete religious equipment.

The Gray's Yard mission attempts to influence, and certainly does attract the poorest. Its local work is like that of any of the other original Ragged School organizations. It employs a City missionary and draws voluntary workers from the Polytechnic in Regent Street. In addition it breaks ground that we have already traversed in several parts of London, giving it the new name of a 'Ragged Church.' Here hundreds attend every Sunday afternoon. They enjoy the bread and tea provided (the more professional casual bringing his own accessories of bacon or butter, bloater or saveloy), but of those who come few pay more than scant attention to the message of salvation for which this meal opens the way. Connected with the mission

is a lodging-house, through which a more permanent influence may be exercised on selected cases, and there is also a kitchen for the sale of food at low prices. So broken down are those who attend the Ragged Church that few of them are capable of making a fresh start; and it is thus found very difficult to give help that will be of permanent benefit. 'Is it possible for these dry bones to live?' is asked, and to this question the answer is given, 'Yes, in regeneration by the Spirit through faith in Jesus Christ.' It is on this faith, in the sure, even though unseen, fruit of the gospel message, 'however small the visible success may have been,' that the mission rests its main claim to support; but it cannot be denied that to those who do not share that faith the operations of the Ragged Church may appear actually harmful.

The Wesleyan Church is one of those whose former congregation melted away, so that twenty years ago it was almost dead. Fresh energy has been infused, and largely as the result of the work of the Sisters of the People it has become once more a powerful church with numerous social agencies, some aimed specially at benefiting the poor and others connected with its own middle class congregational life. All, young and old, are expected to take some personal part in the work. The young people are especially considered, and a 'social hour,' to which invitation is by ticket, is held mainly for them every Sunday evening after the service. It is to be noted as very generally characteristic of the Wesleyan body that, in addition to well-to-do and professional people, shop assistants are largely drawn upon in the organization.

The work of St. Thomas's is also blessed by the presence of the poor; there are 'hard hands as well as soft to touch the sacramental bread.' Those who attend the church are mostly communicants, 'not great in numbers, but faithful and religious.' The bulk of

the parishioners are untouched and indifferent. It is suggested that the ground is 'overworked' by those who seek to evangelize the people. One hears that 'at least six agencies' are actively engaged in this task, and that the 'religious sensibilities of the people become blunted.'

The parish of St. Marylebone shares in the religious tone of middle class North-West London, into which it extends. The church is stately, the music good, and the preaching far above the average. There are large day schools, with elementary, higher and technical departments, which are the pride of the parish; and there is an athletic club, with a cricket ground at Acton, the members being clerks and shop assistants. For the poor there is a mission church, the services at which are taken by each curate in turn, and services are still held at the old parish church, now called the 'parish chapel'; but except at the church itself, to which many are drawn from other parts of London, the numbers attending are quite small.

The poverty of Gray's Yard is only an episode in the string of wealthy parishes which border upon this portion of Oxford Street and extend along the Bayswater Road. Amongst the churches here there is little to note beyond variations in ritual. They are all well filled, and share the fluctuation in numbers due to the London season, though not to such an extent as is the case in Mayfair and Belgravia. We find here a more settled life; not everyone has a country as well as a London home. But, still, genuine parish work is not easy. Here, as well as in the still more fashionable districts, it is said that the rich 'have money, but lack souls'—or the Church fails to touch them. 'Heart-breaking' work were the words used in Mayfair. Parochial visitation among the rich is, no doubt, 'exceedingly difficult.'

In several cases special efforts are made to reach the servants. Some of the Nonconformist churches are

largely supported by them, and they are reported as being regular in attendance and liberal with money. There is in one parish a large benefit club for coachmen, of which the members live in all parts of London, and a smaller one, of a more local character, for stablemen.

In these districts the poor are said to be 'thoroughly looked after,' and it well may be so, for there are few of them.

The further West along this line the less do congregations ebb and flow with the London season, and the less we hear of the unsettling influence of week-end and other holiday absences. As a consequence the congregational bond becomes stronger and the power of the Church and its pulpit more marked. The influence extends, it is said, even to the filling of empty houses, and so in some slight measure to the general welfare of the district surrounding a church. Parish boundaries are little regarded, but proximity to a favoured church may have its weight in the choice of a house.* Here, then, we find the Established Church scoring its greatest successes. Here or hereabouts it touches high water-mark, and though there are Ritualists and Evangelicals, the line adopted is usually moderate. But the religious life is not strong; 'it does not, as a rule, go beyond church-going and money giving.' By the same token there is an absence of contention, and four of the churches have arranged a joint annual meeting of their workers.

The revenues raised by these churches are very large, and their activities include assistance rendered to less fortunate parishes, in work as well as money.

The Nonconformists are weak in this immediate neighbourhood, although they have several vigorous

* In a recent number of *The Church Times* among the advertisements of houses to let, one of the paragraphs was headed 'St. Cuthbert's, Philbeach Gardens,' the distance of the house from the church preceding the ordinary particulars.

organizations a little to the North and again further West, where yellow gives way to red on our map; and also in the middle-class part of Kensington. Such churches as they have in Bayswater draw their congregations for the most part from the North-West.

Except for Jews and Greeks, whose numbers are increasing, and both of whom have their own places of worship in the neighbourhood, the residents usually belong, at least nominally, to the Church of England, but there are two strange meetings of worshippers, difficult to classify, which claim notice. The one is that of the Ethical Religion Society, which gathers every Sunday morning to hear the eloquent orations of Dr. Washington Sullivan at Steinway Hall, which during the greater part of the year is crowded. Membership is open to all yearly seat-holders, and those who attend mainly belong to the thoughtful well-to-do middle class, presumably believers with Emerson in 'the new Church founded on moral science, the Church of men to come.' Hymns are sung and solos are well given, and there are readings from great authors, but the sufficient attraction is the address itself. The lecturer, formerly a member of the Roman Catholic Church, has great command of language and of stimulating exposition. The subjects chosen cover a wide field.

The other still more remarkable body is that of Christian Scientists, who occupy what was once the Synagogue of the Spanish Jews in Bryanston Street. This body hails from America, and this is its only congregation in London. They, too, are thoughtful members of the upper middle class, and the atmosphere is highly devotional. The building consists of two floors, and the children come to a sort of Sunday school in the lower room. On the extraordinary tenets of this sect I can scarcely venture to touch. It rests

its forms on the words of its New England prophetess; but for its tenets seeks a base in the practical exposition of the mastery of spirit over matter by the healing of disease, taking up Christianity from the point at which Christ, in proportion to their faith, entrusted these powers to His disciples; and seeking, in all sobriety, to make of life one long and patient miracle.

§ 4

KENSINGTON

Another string of parishes, somewhat less wealthy, but still mainly occupied by Church of England people, leads us by Campden Hill and Holland Park to the great parish of St. Mary Abbot, in which church organization in London culminates. It rests on a middle zone betwixt rich and poor. All grades are represented in the parish, and all are served by the church. It requires a year-book of 275 pages to describe the organizations and an income of £20,000 to support them. The congregations at the mother church are truly parochial and very large. They overflow into the branch church of St. Paul's, and there is yet a third church to serve a special district, as well as various other buildings. Besides ten clergy, a great force of volunteers is employed. The success in its way is marked, and leads to a note of self-warning, seldom required in London: 'Our danger is to look at what is being done, and the numbers, and to forget what is being left undone.'

In this part of Kensington there is one very well supported Congregational Church, the service in which is liturgical. The congregation consists largely of

professional people. Amongst them, also, a considerable revenue is raised, part of the funds going to support a mission in Notting Dale. At the church, social subjects are freely dealt with from the pulpit, and there are besides frequent lectures, by which, with social and musical evenings, a strong congregational life is maintained; whilst the young people have a choral union, reading circle, camera club, &c.—all very flourishing. But from another Congregational Church, where the minister's opinions are too vehement or too far advanced for those who might be his people, we have a less favourable account. The minister complains of Kensington people as being 'apathetic upon public questions,' 'culture and refinement the interests, and pleasure what is aimed at;' they are 'respectable and self-contained,' but 'democratic ideas are tabooed.' The local poor are described as 'deferential; expressing no opinion of their own'—all very different from what he had found in South London.

The Presbyterians have two successful churches in this neighbourhood. Each of these is responsible for a mission church in a poor quarter, the one near Earl's Court, the other at Fulham. Their own adherents come from Kensington, and, though they include some shop assistants and domestic servants, are, on the whole, a leisured and wealthy class. With them, as in the Congregationalist body, the pulpit plays the leading part in the life of the Church, but among the Presbyterians the central interest is found, not in current questions of the day, but in 'Bible exposition and the historical treatment of Revelation.'

The district on the north side of the Bayswater Road, with its continuation southward by Holland Park and Campden Hill to Kensington, has all gained in recent years. The tide of fashion and favour which for some time flowed towards Brompton exhausted

itself in the Wild West of Earl's Court, and there has been some reaction in favour of Bayswater and Tyburnia, as well as the opening up of new ground in Holland Park and on Campden Hill. Moreover, in the parishes of St. George and St. Barnabas, and still more in that of St. Mary Abbot, prosperity is not confined to the yellow tinted streets. In few parts of this district are there any signs of decay, and, as a rule, religious life is vigorous and healthy.

§ 5

BROMPTON AND BELGRAVIA

St. Philip's parish, which is the point at which we turn eastward, is quite peculiar. It is an old settled district which has never pretended to fashion, and here, too, as far as there is any change it is upwards. The parish church collects a good congregation, especially for morning service. Religion in the neighbourhood is also represented by the Congregationalists in Allen Street, and the two Presbyterian churches already mentioned in dealing with Kensington. In this parish, too, is the Catholic Pro-Cathedral. St. Philip's Church stands on the southern verge of the parish, and to some extent shares with St. Cuthbert's and St. Matthias' to the South, the fortunes of the yellow streets which are turning red in the Earl's Court district.

Now the difference between a red street which might almost be yellow and a yellow street that is suffering decay, is enormous, and hardly to be indicated by any scheme of colour. In the one live prosperous people whose houses are homes; they employ few servants, but live in great comfort; with them the pinch of poverty is unknown. In the other, pretence in some

form reigns supreme. Great sacrifices are made to maintain appearances. People live not only up to, but quite without regard to their incomes. Houses are now occupied, now empty; tenants come and go. The house, a home no longer, is made a source of income. There are guests who pay, or the drawing-room floor is let, or boarders are taken, or at length the fatal word 'Apartments' appears in the fanlight over the door. Against its downfall each street struggles in vain. Those who can afford to do so leave the stricken district, and those who come or those who do not go are alike in seeking to grasp an elusive advantage, desiring to trade on that vanishing quantity —the fashionable character of the neighbourhood.

By such changes the Church is much affected. The instability of the population weakens the parochial tie. Recognition of church or chapel becomes less than ever spontaneous.

The social instability of the districts in which they are located, and the absence of strong parochial feeling of any kind, creates, however, a favourable opening for churches which, because they are extreme, are certain to attract an eclectic body of worshippers, some of them staunch adherents, but many merely those who will travel far to see and hear some new thing. I think I am not wrong in connecting with this condition of things the remarkable success of Ritualistic methods at St. Cuthbert's and St. Matthias'. These churches are well filled, drawing adherents, it may be, from far and wide. They hold up their light in the midst of (to them) an increasingly irreligious world. In the darkness they seek the individual soul, and in various tones the individual soul responds.

At St. Cuthbert's there is a rather remarkable set of guilds connected with church decoration—the guild of St. Peter (stone workers), that of St. Joseph (wood workers), and St. Margaret (embroidery). All the

members of these guilds are communicants, and most of them are ladies, being thus 'put into employment' in the service of the church.

In this district is the mission already mentioned as connected with one of the Presbyterian churches, but which receives support also from the Congregationalists in Allen Street. The district nominally covered is large, but the work is mainly concentrated on the triangular patch of poverty wedged in between Cromwell Road and the railway. The poverty here is not extreme, but there is much crowding, a lower class coming in to replace those who leave. The morning's work of the women is enlivened by gossip and nips of gin. The High Churches with their Sisters and lady visitors are complained of as demoralizing the district, 'flooding it with their gifts.' The actual adherents of the mission are mostly coachmen and others of the servant class.

With St. Luke's, West Brompton, we find a further fall in social character, and to this parish I shall return when describing the river front of Chelsea.

To the east of Earl's Court we re-enter the area of settled wealth and easily successful Church organization. It is unnecessary to enumerate the parish churches, all of which are wealthy and well attended, their activity also finding vent in affiliated parishes and branch missions. There is no need nor any great demand for exaggerated ritual. Wealth, which remains the most marked feature throughout, is further accentuated as we approach Belgravia, and religious work culminates here in the great organizations of St. Peter, Eaton Square, and St. Paul, Knightsbridge. But as fashion and wealth converge, congregational life becomes once again difficult owing to the usage of week-end absences, and the conflicting claims of town and country homes.

This large group of well-to-do parishes is not entirely without poor, but the number of them is rapidly

decreasing. One by one the back streets where they have lingered are absorbed by great shops or utilized for flats and blocks of dwellings for an upper class, and the district seems ultimately destined to be entirely rich. It is only near Marlborough Road that poverty remains, but here there is more of it than when our last survey was made, some of the poor evicted in the neighbourhood having found homes at this spot. Rich and poor here live very near together. The newly built region to the west of Sloane Street, which looks hardly less smart, though it is probably very much less wealthy, than Mayfair or Belgravia, is separated only by a narrow borderland of shabby gentility from a group of mean streets reminding one of parts of Mile End or Bethnal Green. The poverty in them is of a respectable kind, not marked by the squalor or vice of Hoxton, of Somers Town or Lisson Grove, or such as is establishing itself in parts of Fulham or at the World's End, in Chelsea ; they are people who would repay the thought and care needed to build for their wants, and it may be that to do this would be a safer investment of money than to attempt to extend further in this direction the uncertain area of precarious fashion.

There are not many Nonconformists in this district. The Baptists have two churches supported largely by servants, and there is one undenominational mission specially devoted to evangelistic work among this class, but which provides also a registry office and a home to which they can resort in case of need when out of a place. The Congregationalists had, until lately, a church in Trevor Square, Brompton, and there may be some others, but none of any note.

On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church here puts forth its greatest strength. From the Pro-Cathedral, in Kensington High Street, and the famous Carmelite Church close by, we pass to the Oratory in the Brompton Road, and thence to the great new

Cathedral in Westminster. But in the whole of this district, save perhaps in the quiet centres of worship found in Cadogan Street and further South in Upper Cheyne Row, the work is rather metropolitan than local in its scope.

The corner of London which thus comes to be the centre of Roman Catholic administration and propaganda in England is well suited for this purpose, having itself little, if any, settled local life ; it consists, and so far as alterations are being made tends more and more to consist, of great blocks of chambers or residential flats, and even of costly dwelling houses which are in most cases the temporary homes of those whose stronger anchorage is elsewhere.

§ 6

CHELSEA

A counterpart to the disreputable portions of Pimlico is found at the western extremity of Chelsea in the parishes of St. John (Chelsea) and St. Luke (West Brompton). Not long ago it was mainly in the former, but now it is mainly in the latter, that these conditions are found. In St. John's the prostitutes seem to have been a relic of Cremorne Gardens, and, routed out of the district at the back of that once famous pleasure resort, they have now congregated more to the North. But displacement has been accompanied by considerable improvement. The women are said to be better behaved than formerly, as well as fewer in number. Notorious houses have been closed, and here, as in Pimlico, the evil takes usually a comparatively unobjectionable shape, the women living in private apartments,

and to a great extent pursuing their vocation elsewhere. At any rate, there is no outward impropriety, and the neighbours make no complaints.

But rampant disorder shows itself in other ways hereabouts, and there are some spots in the poorer parts of these river-side parishes that have changed a good deal for the worse in the last ten years. The change has been the result of demolitions elsewhere; partly, no doubt, those on the Cadogan estate, but, as regards the worst part of the influx, connected rather with the clearances made in Westminster and near the Strand. As we trace the outer verge of the fashionable and wealthy West, the inner portion of which we have been describing, we shall find many instances of this kind, constituting a most anxious problem. And here, though not on so large a scale as in Notting Dale, or as threatens in the lower part of Fulham, such instances are frequent, and the condition of 'bits of old Chelsea' in this respect is almost as bad as anything in London.

Extreme poverty there is not. In some way or another money enough is earned or obtained, but there are, nevertheless, all the signs of low life and filthy habits: broken and patched windows, open doors, drink-sodden women and dirty children. But these last, in spite of dirt, look fat and healthy, and the cats in these slums are sleek.

These bad patches are scattered here and there, and can easily be picked out on the map amongst the prevailing red and pink. As to the taint of poverty, with perhaps one exception, they merely carry on an old tradition; it is the advent of the rowdy semi-criminal, or quite criminal, element that is new. But the affected areas are so small here, and surrounding property so valuable, that the power of the landlord, if supported and stimulated by public opinion and local administrative action, would seem adequate to

prevent this element from obtaining a permanent foothold.

The wholesale deterioration and decay, the effects of which we trace in the immediate neighbourhood of Earl's Court, and which in portions of West Brompton has gone so far as to form a second Pimlico of disrepute, is in some ways a more serious matter than small black patches of poverty and crime. This decay is partly due to the caprices of fashion, and partly to bad building, but more than these, to a failure on the part of ground landlords and builders to appreciate the economic strength of the classes who keep no servants and make no pretence to fashion, but who live in comfort and pay their way, and amongst whom are to be found every year a larger proportion of the population. The mischief seems to be an inevitable consequence of the construction of property for which there is no sound demand; for it thereupon falls into the hands of those who are bankrupt, financially or morally, and the evil that results to a neighbourhood is almost irreparable. It is an instance of a blunder that is worse than a crime. Of this evil, too, we shall see more as we complete the circle of the West.

The exception referred to, where poverty and newness co-exist, is at the strange corner known as the 'World's End,' through which once lay the way to Cremorne Gardens.* The streets built on this site are all tending downwards, and have nearly reached bottom. Their downfall has been the direct result of the plan on which much of the land was laid out. The houses are so crowded together, and so high, that the back windows are sunless, an arrangement which is enough to damn any place, apart from bad building. The older houses are not amiss, but the new were

* The World's End and Cremorne Estates are included in the coloured map of Fulham, facing page 182.

badly built, and the old well-built ones becoming dilapidated and filthy have shared the discredit. Still, even here, there are no signs of extreme poverty. West of Ashburnham Road, where the houses are placed in rectangular blocks, with a little space at the back, the conditions are comparatively good.

The work of the Churches in these districts shadows forth as usual the character of the people among whom the work is done. The vicar of St. Luke's, a very energetic Evangelical, recognises that there is at present a lull, not alone here, but throughout the country, in matters religious. He finds that you cannot force things. There are, as he puts it, 'waves of blessing,' for which it is necessary to wait. In truth, he has a difficult task, and the task of the Church is not shared by any of the Nonconformist bodies.

The parish of St. John offers far more scope, having a large poor population. It has three mission halls and an institute, huge Sunday schools, social meetings, lectures and concerts; slate clubs and penny banks, lantern services in the church or out of doors; a soup kitchen and free breakfasts when required, deaconesses and nurses to visit and care for the poor; in fact, everything possible is done to render the church popular and effective, and not without success. It has very devoted supporters. This church, again, is Evangelical.

In early days the outdoor services at World's End were often interrupted by disturbances, but that is so no longer. It is very rare, we are told, to meet a declared infidel. The population tends to become poorer, but has gained in respectability by the removal further North of the loose women who used to live here.

In this district the Church is not working alone.

Of other agencies, the most active is a large mission split off from a Congregational Church, and rapidly growing into a Church itself. This mission is managed by two City missionaries, one of whom has been twenty-five years in the neighbourhood, and can speak of the change that has taken place since the old Cremorne days. In addition to the ordinary activities, which mainly apply to its regular adherents, 'Tent' services are held, in order to reach a non-churchgoing class, and the missionaries claim to see some results in changed lives. Otherwise the principal feature appears to be the sick benefit clubs, which are on a large scale. As regards such clubs, this mission was a pioneer. The sick club, in addition to its intrinsic merits, serves, it is pointed out, as an introduction to those who, if the missionary came ostensibly to read the Bible, 'might bang the door in his face.'

Thus social and religious effort is not wanting in this corner of London, but, as usual, we hear from the very men who are giving their lives to the work, that though the churches are fairly filled it is with better class people; and that of the mass of the population, very few attend any place of worship.

The Roman Catholics are strongly represented here by the Church of the Servite Fathers, which, although attracting large congregations, finds it a somewhat difficult task to retain its hold on a widely scattered body of Catholics, and tries by the use of clubs and other social organizations to reach more effectively some of those whose feet are apt to stray.

The parish of St. Luke, Chelsea, is divided between the old church and the new. For its incumbent the old church has undying interest; but the population is changing and the new comers care little for its fourteenth century charm. Nor is the

church much interested in them. The poor have mostly gone from the district near the river to which the old church appertains.

The other division of the parish, north of the King's Road, contains no rich residents, but the services of the church are attended by many who live in Brompton beyond the parish borders. The church does not touch the lower middle class at all, and the better off among the working people also hold quite aloof, except perhaps as regards a very remarkable institution, called a Bible-class but stamped with a much wider interest than such classes generally obtain, which is attended by some two hundred men. The beautiful rectory garden is utilized for parish purposes, and the church seems to be a veritable centre of kindly action. The late rector, who had been in this position more than thirty-eight years, reported genuine improvement: there might be fewer rich and more crowding, but there was less distress; the people individually were better off.

The Congregationalists, who have an active and well supported church in Markham Square, have suffered nevertheless from the exodus of the middle classes. Half their people live in Battersea; and it is the same with the Methodists, who have a struggling organization here.

At Christ Church we reach the southern edge of the Chelsea improvements which stretch down to, and end in, the beautiful gardens of Burton's Court, opened only for cricket matches in the Summer, and of the Chelsea Royal Hospital, which are open always. The exquisite lime-tree walk, set out with seats, is unlike anything else in London; and is suggestive rather of Oxford. Even in winter it is a pleasant and a restful spot. The working-class streets in this parish remain as they were, and elsewhere the trend is upwards. The Church here suffered by neglect

in the past, but seems now to be full of energy. The people, however, are not responsive. The day and Sunday schools are the principal work done. There is a mission church on the poorest spot, the conduct of which is entirely undertaken by the wealthy parish of St. Paul (Onslow Square). This mission has very complete premises, and great efforts are made to utilize them, but the district is difficult, and in spite of unceasing visitation and a good deal of giving, it seems that the congregation (and even the children in the schools) largely come from a distance, being those of the better sort who, though they have moved to Battersea, still maintain their connection with the mission. Some light is thrown on the class of the people who attend by the statement that much interest is taken in Foreign Missions. This is rarely the case with those below the middle class.

Locally, too, St. Barnabas' (South Pimlico, west of the railway), with an almost entirely working-class population, has been a practical failure, the congregations having been drawn almost entirely from outside, leaving the parishioners apathetic and indifferent. A fresh start is now being made, still on advanced High Church lines.

St. Philip's, which stands among the poor streets at the southern end of Buckingham Palace Road, has been more successful. On Sunday evening a genuine, though not numerous, working-class congregation is attracted by lantern effects and organ or other musical recitals. The ritual is Low, with evening communion, and the services plainly conducted, so that plain people can follow them.

At St. Simon's, Lennox Gardens, we touch the golden district of Cadogan Square—but just here it seems the gold is lacking to the Church, and the attempt to compete with the 'swagger parishes' around is abandoned as hopeless.

The Baptists have a now vigorous church in Sloane Street, revived by an energetic preacher, but on the whole we hear little of the Nonconformists in this neighbourhood. The people are either Church of England or nothing, and for the most part the latter.

Such are the people and the Churches, in the working class and poor quarters which form the southern fringe of the wealthy districts round the parks. Here the rich are supplanting the poor. We pass next to a similar fringe to the North, but there the poor are supplanting the rich, while between the two, in Bayswater, there is a see-saw movement—the poor parts, rebuilt, accommodating the well-to-do in handsome flats, while the discarded houses, perhaps in streets near by, are taken by those who sub-let their best apartments, or, it may be, are divided by the landlord to suit a still poorer class of tenant.

§ 7

PADDINGTON

The map of the West End includes to the North a strip of an altogether different character. It consists of the poor part of Paddington between the railway and the canal, and shares many of the characteristics of the Kensal Town and Notting Dale district to which it leads. Through it meanders the Harrow Road, providing a clue through the labyrinth of streets.

In all parts of London we find poverty clinging to the banks of the canals, and it is so here, although at one point, where Bloomfield Road faces Delamere Terrace, a pleasant and successful effort has been made to utilise the canal as ornamental water. It is also a very general rule that groups of poor streets, when cut off from communication with the sur-

rounding district, and so lacking the guarantee which through-traffic provides, tend to become disreputable; and this, too, applies to some extent here, where the population is hemmed in between railway and canal. Of such spots there are two. The one lies round Paddington Basin, consisting of North and South Wharf Roads, and the adjoining streets, and is the home of the dustman. The other is shut in between railway and canal further West.

That which goes by the name of 'dust,' the waste product of London, makes a picturesque and shining cargo heaped upon a barge, but the assortment of it is noisome work; and both the people and the place become redolent of their peculiar trade. About one thousand men and one hundred women are thus employed. These are not all residents, but there are living here a number of families who have been engaged in this work for generations. They form a very exclusive society. The employment, though not highly paid, is very regular, and vacancies, it is said, are often filled up, not from the casuals or out-of-works of London, but direct from the country; probably from among the relations or friends of those already engaged. The Paddington Wharves Mission, a very active organization, is practically devoted to these people, whose whole families are included in the sick benefit clubs it has established.

This immediate district is shared between the parishes of All Saints, St. Michael and St. Mary; and into other streets of each of these parishes the poor from it overflow. St. Michael's Church was amongst the earliest to show the awakening which we have recorded in speaking of church work in the adjoining North-West district. It was one of the first to perfect its music. Now other churches compete and its congregation has suffered, but in spite of some slackness and indifference, of which complaint is made, fair

numbers still attend the services: the rich in the morning and other classes in the evening. As to the attitude of the poor the vicar, who has been here nearly forty years, finds no change: they are, as they have always been, friendly, but indifferent. In general orderliness there has been improvement.

Here the Baptists, drawing their supporters from a wide area, have a church which was the first scene of Dr. Clifford's London ministry, and is still linked to the organization of which he is the head. As regards the poor, efforts are directed towards the much be-missioned district of Lisson Grove, on the east side of the Edgware Road. The Salvation Army Corps, which moved from, but still occasionally visits Lisson Grove, has its barracks now in St. Mary's parish, and devotes most of its attention to the poor streets west of Edgware Road. The Salvationists themselves constitute a good congregation which can and does pay its way. There is also in St. Mary's parish an interesting community of Particular Baptists, whose minister—formerly a small farmer, and, when farming failed, an itinerant preacher in 'fourteen counties and one hundred pulpits'—has come, as an old man, to end his preaching days in London.

On this, the north side of the canal, the Church of England finds it difficult to get workers; the general downward tendency is deplored and the poor are fed. On Friday morning, when relief is given, they flock to the mission as, in days of old, to the abbey gate. In extenuation it may be said that 'they don't get much,' and are not expected at church. The church attendance, such as it is, is parochial, and the day schools, which are free and among the oldest elementary schools in London, are prosperous.

The other poor district shut in between railway

and canal, further West, consists of Cirencester, Woodchester and Clarendon Streets, with others adjoining. It is the scene of much energetic religious work. The services at St. Mary Magdalene's are very High, and, largely in order to counteract their Romanizing tendency, an Evangelical mission has been established close by. Another church (St. Paul), also High, but not so extreme, shares the work, and there are some other missions, of which I lack particulars.

If spiritual as well as physical destitution constitute an opportunity for work, there is, indeed, enough for all, for in every respect this is a most unsatisfactory spot. Many of the houses are let out in furnished rooms from day to day, and among the residents thieves and prostitutes abound. According to the clergy, the rooms are even sometimes tenanted by day and night, Box and Cox fashion. That family life prevails is, however, evident from the swarms of children. The place is a perfect warren. The sanitary authority has been vigilant, and has checked overcrowding by scheduling all the houses on one side of Clarendon Street, and a good many others, as registered lodging-houses, and subjecting them to constant inspection. It is not the poorest streets that are the most criminal, and there is said to be less contamination than might be expected, for criminals are 'cliquy,' and particular as to their associates; but the clergy report a dangerous juvenile criminal element, and say that lads who have been convicted return from the reformatories far worse instead of better.

The men here are too apt to live on the earnings of the women, of whom the more respectable do washing. We hear, as usual, that sober and thrifty people who get on in the world leave the parish, although they may still continue their membership of the provident clubs.

Visiting is most systematic, conducted steadily from door to door by emissaries from the rival religious camps. With both the management of relief is recognised as a difficulty. At the mission little is given, perhaps partly because they have little to give. The Church Relief Committee makes an effort to fall in with the Paddington system which, by an understanding between the Guardians and voluntary agencies, keeps poor law and other cases distinct. Both sides speak of the curse of drink and the shamelessness of women in that respect.

The elaborate services at St. Mary Magdalene's draw good congregations, but not to any extent from parishioners; nor do any large number attend the special mission services. The clergy are devoted to their work, and the people, they say, are full of gratitude, respect and love; 'there is no unwillingness to come to church'—only they do not come. Working men's clubs, too, are of little use; they lead to nothing; but the thrift organizations, sick club, goose club, and such-like, go well. In these ways the Church makes itself felt, and also through its schools. In the day schools there are no less than twelve hundred children, including many of the roughest; while on Sunday nearly the same number of children are shared between the rival organizations, and the evangelical mission fills its hall every Friday for a children's service. At St. Paul's, too, there are both day and Sunday schools, and the parish activities are considerable. Here, also, the class dealt with is poor, but not so low as in the streets nearer the canal.

This district is an example of one that has gone wrong. The houses were built for a well-to-do class, and it is even now difficult to say why they have fallen so low. Probably it has been mainly due to their being too tightly packed upon the ground. If Delamere Terrace had been continued facing the

canal, and Woodchester Street had dropped out altogether, there would probably have been no decay, whether the district had been laid out for working or middle class occupation. This is a good instance of the enormous influence on their future fate of the plan upon which building sites are laid out, and has its application in all parts of London.

To the South across the railway we find a district of church-going middle-class people. St. Stephen's is, in its way, as successful as the richer parish of St. Matthew, further South, and this success is more than shared by the Baptists under Dr. Clifford, who have carried a combination of religious and social activity to its highest point. There may be some question whether such social developments should be termed religious, but none at all surely as to the great place which a church organized as is that of Dr. Clifford takes in the life of its people. It is success of a rather personal character. It needs the right man. But it also demands the overflowing energies and hopeful confidence of the new middle class. A similar success attends the work of all the religious bodies when these two-fold conditions are present.

Under Dr. Clifford the development has been continuous. Thus a young men's Bible-class has become a 'Sunday afternoon conference,' with 'papers and discussion on biblical, philosophical, social, educational and literary subjects'; and as an offshoot of this organization social meetings for young people of both sexes are held after the Sunday evening service, and are made attractive by music and lectures and addresses on a wide range of subjects. Tea and coffee are served, and the members can invite friends. The object is to gather in the young people connected with the business houses (shops) in the neighbourhood. Special meetings are also arranged for the consideration of public questions. These are held in the chapel in

order to accommodate large audiences, and addresses are given by leading public men.

The Westbourne Park Institute is a remarkable outcome of the congregational life of this church. The Institute, which uses the chapel and the chapel basement hardly less than its own rather restricted premises adjoining, forms a kind of minor polytechnic, the best-known feature of which is its admirable course of popular lectures by well known people. Including those who join for the lectures it counts about one thousand members, who are of all sects and several religions. Very few are working men. A building society connected with Dr. Clifford's organization has also grown to great dimensions.

These are the developments, but behind and within all this lie the strictly religious organizations of the Church and the power of the pulpit, the utterances from which breathe life into the whole. Direct work for the poor is undertaken by means of a mission at Kensal New Town, where a deaconess is regularly employed, and much of the surplus energy and funds of the congregation flow in this direction.

Another Baptist Church near here is also successful, but its work is more in accordance with the usual Baptist traditions. The building, though large, is well filled in the morning and full at night, and the week-night preaching and Saturday prayer meeting are well attended. The Wesleyans have also a large church, one of the largest in West London belonging to their community, and make special efforts to reach the shop assistants of Westbourne Grove.

The Presbyterians here, as elsewhere, take up religion from a different standpoint. Theirs is an eclectic congregation solidly based on a small knot of Scotch families. It deliberately holds aloof from the stir of mundane life, and any approach to 'brightness' in the services of the church would be resented. But

assistance is given to some mission work in far Millwall, and near at hand they have a Sunday school for poor children, which at least offers an alternative to High Church teaching.

There is an active Roman Catholic community here, which is exceptionally mixed in class. It is the headquarters in London of the Fathers of St. Charles Borromeo, a community which had the late Cardinal Manning as Father Superior up to 1866, and is the centre of a vigorous propaganda. In addition to their other duties the community has charge of a large population of poor Catholics living north of the canal, and it succeeds in bringing many of these people to mass and their children to the schools. Working with this church is a strong branch of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul for visiting and relief, and 'The Little Sisters of the Poor' help with the sick.

§ 8

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The authorities responsible, at the date of our inquiry, for the administration of local government in the area covered by the present chapter, included the vestries of St. George Hanover Square, Kensington, Marylebone, Paddington and Chelsea, but the areas of special difficulty which have been referred to lie entirely in the districts which were controlled by the two last-named authorities.

Lisson Grove, the weak spot in Marylebone, has been described in a previous volume.

Paddington is no less rich than Marylebone, having indeed a higher average rateable value than any other

London district. It has its set-off, however, in the poor spots which adjoin the Grand Junction Canal. Here, a great point has been made of the frequent cleansing of the streets, and a vigorous campaign of registration and inspection undertaken, with the result that the more unstable portion of the undesirable element in the population has been hustled about. But, displaced from one street, they are found in another, and it requires a very tight hand to eliminate them altogether. It is much the same with the brothels, of which the numbers lessen, but only very gradually. The policy of the vestry has been to get rid of these 'judiciously,' as it is called, and not by prosecution, for fear of merely distributing and so spreading the contamination.

Paddington has good baths and washhouses, but they are not much used by the poorest classes. They are some distance from the poorer parts, and the fees charged are rather high.

In Chelsea, though the late vestry was active and well spoken of, the visible effects of its work, so far as the older portion of the parish is concerned, are almost lost in the sweeping changes brought about by Lord Cadogan. There are complaints of defective drainage in streets of old tenement houses, near the river, where the owners of rapidly expiring leases are very loath to execute repairs. The keepers of disorderly houses, too, have kept the authorities busy here. Acting conjointly with a privately constituted vigilance committee, the vestry has closed up many houses of ill-fame.

Kensal Town and Queen's Park were, until recently, included in Chelsea parish, but have now been divided between Paddington and Kensington, which adjoin. Sanitary work has been vigorously carried out in Kensal Town, and a few of the worst places demolished at the instance of the vestry, which has also provided excellent baths and library for this portion of the district.

Turning to the Poor Law, the Boards of Guardians

for Paddington and Kensington are noteworthy as having each its own distinctive method of dealing with pauperism. At Paddington, co-operation with, and encouragement of voluntary agencies in dispensing relief, is a settled policy. There is a formal signed agreement between the Guardians, the local Charity Organization Society committee, and some of the neighbouring churches, which ensures consultation and the exchange of particulars in all cases ; but the Guardians do not join with any other body in actually giving relief. Either they deal with a case entirely, or else leave it solely to voluntary charity, and much time and trouble are expended in deciding which is the more suitable manner of treating each application ; with the result that the way to relief is so hedged about with rule and inquiry as effectually to warn off all except those in real distress. Towards the proper subjects for relief from the public purse, the Guardians recognise that they have a bounden duty, and when it seems best, are ready to give out-door relief, but if the case has in it the elements of hope they spare no pains in assisting the applicant again to become independent of the Poor Law. If the case is unsuited for out-relief, the 'house' is invariably offered. Widows are occasionally helped by the Guardians taking charge of their children. A special point is made of obtaining contributions from the relatives of those relieved. A collector and staff are employed for this purpose, and get in some £1700 or £1800 a year.

The result of this policy, consistently followed for many years, has been an enormous decrease not only in the numbers relieved, but also in the amount expended on the outdoor poor (£800 or £900 a year now, as against £11,000 or £12,000 some twenty odd years ago) ; but there is no diminution in the total sum spent, the saving in out-relief being more than counterbalanced by greater expenditure on the in-

firmary and workhouse, and by increased cost of administration.

The Guardians of Kensington long ago abandoned the practice of free out-relief, for a policy almost diametrically the reverse. Even worthy old people and widows were, as a very general rule, offered the 'house,' though, as at Paddington, some of the children of widows might be taken into the workhouse schools, leaving the mother to maintain herself and the remainder of her family. But latterly this form of relief has, to some extent, given place to allowances in money or kind. The Guardians, as a body, are still adverse to out-relief, but the North Kensington members, backed by their constituents, advocate it for decent old people, and have obtained it in several cases.

Kensington has an able-bodied workhouse for men, generally known as the 'test house,' which receives cases from most of the other Poor Law areas in London as well as its own. Although holding but ninety men it is not often full, and nearly twenty years' experience has not demonstrated the necessity for enlarging it. The *régime* here is a very severe one—the plainest of food, and the barest of accommodation, combined with the hard labour of stone breaking or corn grinding. Few of the men stay any length of time, yet so curious is the attitude of these men towards labour, that many who are sent to the Church Army Labour Homes, and to the Lingfield Farm Colony, resist the 'voluntary' discipline in force at these places, and find their way back here, where, perhaps, the system, though more severe, is also more intelligible to them. The men are undoubtedly a selection of the undesirable, other Boards of Guardians usually sending their worst cases; but Kensington itself disposes of all its able-bodied applicants here, whatever their character and antecedents may be, and thereby lays itself open to some criticism.

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES. MAP M. (VOL. III., PART II., CHAPTER II.)

The Inner West.

Adjoining Maps—**N.** Hampstead and St. John's Wood (Vol. I.); **E.** West Central (Vol. II.) and Westminster and Pimlico (p. 92); **S.** Battersea (Vol. V.) and Fulham (p. 182); **W.** Outer West (p. 162).

General Character.—The map comprises the districts of Mayfair, Marylebone, part of Lisson Grove, Paddington, Bayswater, Westbourne Park, North and South Kensington, Earl's Court, Brompton, Knightsbridge, Belgravia, Chelsea, and part of Pimlico. It includes the largest 'yellow' area in London. Wealth, rank and fashion cluster round Hyde Park and the Green Park. Mayfair and Belgravia are the centres of fashion. West of Portland Place is the great district for doctors: Bayswater is known for its rich Jews: Kensington and Brompton for a middle class verging on fashion and wealth. The number of houses tenanted by single families with servants and the increase of flats, hotels and boarding-houses are the main features of the districts under review. Flats which enable a greater number to live near the centre tend to replace the old-fashioned 'lodgings' for the accommodation of those who come up to London for a few months only.

Along the western and southern edges of the map are 'red' districts tending downwards in North Kensington, Earl's Court and Chelsea: and again in the South-East in Pimlico.

The poor are gradually being ousted by the demolition of their houses and the rebuilding for a different class: this is especially noticeable on the Portman and other estates in Marylebone and on the Cadogan Estate in Chelsea. The working classes are mainly found in two great wedges north and south of Hyde Park, the first starting near the south end of the Edgware Road and broadening out into Lisson Grove on the East and Paddington on the West: the second starting in Brompton and spreading into Chelsea.

Poverty Areas.—Except in the Lisson Grove district, in part of Paddington, and in the old and new parishes of St. Luke's, Chelsea, there is nothing that can be considered a poverty area. Poverty occurs rather in small patches, in mews and in remnants of old villages, that have gradually been engulfed by the growth of modern London. In Lisson Grove (*vide* special map and description, vol. I., p. 197) poverty is mixed with vice, and due partly to in-comers from Seven Dials when Shaftesbury Avenue was made, is of a loafing, casual, wastrel type; in Paddington, round the Paddington Basin of the Grand Junction Canal, it is of a 'labouring' type connected with the dust shoots and canal work (*vide* p. 120); further West, in Clarendon Street, &c., it represents poor outcasts from Lisson Grove or more central London; in Kensington there are small village remnants of labourers; in St. John's, Chelsea, there is some poverty and vice that originated with Cremorne Gardens; further East, off Manor Street, is a patch of old village poverty, and further North, in new St. Luke's, is a set of mean two-storeyed streets which remind one of Mile End or Bethnal Green, but have little actual squalor. Poverty is being crowded out of the greater part of this district, and is crowding into Kensal New Town and Fulham, which are just outside the limits of the map.

Employments.—The majority of the higher government officials, lawyers, heads of City houses, &c., &c., if they live in London, live within the area covered by this map. There are a large number of clerks living in the 'red' and 'pink-barred' districts in the north-western and south-western corners. The working classes in the 'yellow' districts are mainly

the servants of the rich and live mainly in the mews, which are shown by the 'pink' line behind most of the 'yellow' streets. Where this line is purple or light blue, as is the case in Bayswater and part of Kensington, it means that the mews intended for private servants are tenanted by drivers of shop carts or cabwashers. The poorest classes are costers, road sweepers, dustmen, carmen, and charwomen, and there is a large class of professional beggars.

Housing and Rents.—The range in character of houses and house rent is very wide. The rents of houses of the rich, both new and old, in Chelsea, Brompton, Belgravia and Mayfair, are maintained and tend to rise. The large houses in the Westbourne Park district, built for single families, have fallen in value, as have those in Pimlico. Rents in Kensington are steady, except in the western portion, where the nearness to the exhibitions at Earl's Court has lowered them: but fluctuations, owing to the vagaries of fashion, are everywhere common. In the wealthiest quarters houses run from £200 for a small to over £4000 for a large house. In South Kensington very few houses are to be had as low as £100 a year.

Houses in Marylebone fetch from £130 upwards. Flats can be more easily built to suit the needs of small or large families than houses, which tend rather to be of one size in one street, and the rent of a flat, therefore, varies more according to the accommodation offered than does the rent of a house which depends upon its position. Flats, where servants are kept, run from £50 to £500 according to size and situation.

Working-class rents in Kensington are 2*s* 6*d* to 3*s* 6*d* for a single back room and 4*s* 6*d* to 6*s* 6*d* for two small front rooms. House accommodation is difficult to get. In Chelsea the poor live in single rooms ranging from 2*s* to 4*s* 6*d* per week: two rooms, 5*s* to 8*s*: three rooms, 5*s* to 10*s*. Small house property varies from £35 to £60. Nearly all these houses are now let in tenements with three families in each house. Flats for working men, in sets of three rooms, let at about 7*s* to 9*s*. Those for the middle class are comparatively new and have not taken well.

In Mayfair, rooms in models vary from 4*s* 6*d* for a single front room to 5*s* 6*d* for two rooms. On the outskirts of Belgravia single rooms run from 3*s* to 4*s* 6*d* and 6*s* to 7*s* 6*d* for two rooms.

In Marylebone, in a very poor street where the houses are let out in floors of two rooms each, the rents are 4*s* 6*d* to 7*s* 6*d* per floor. In Lisson Grove district the majority of the working class live in single rooms: in one of the poorest streets the rents were 4*s* for one room, 1*s* 9*d* for a back room, and 2*s* 9*d* for an underground kitchen. Rents have risen since the construction of the Great Central Railway terminus [1897-1899].

Markets.—The best known are Shepherd's Market in Mayfair, patronized mainly by the outdoor servants of the rich; High Street, Marylebone, which supplies the working-class streets on either side of it; Edgware Road and Church Street, used by the inhabitants of Lisson Grove; part of the Harrow Road, used largely by the railway employees living in the north-west corner of the map; the Portobello Road, where it runs North out of Westbourne Grove; part of the Marlborough Road in Chelsea; and the Pimlico Road and Warwick Street in Pimlico. Except Warwick Street none are busy market streets or crowded and used as a promenade on Saturday nights as are Chapel Street in Islington or King Street in Hammersmith. Apart from Regent Street, Bond Street, and Oxford Street, which cannot be accounted local, the great shopping streets of the well-to-do are Knightsbridge and Brompton Road; High Street, Kensington; and Westbourne Grove.

Public-houses.—Public-houses are plentiful in Marylebone, though not so numerous West as East of Portland Place: they are more sparsely scattered over Bayswater and Kensington, being generally confined to the mews or the main shopping streets: they are fairly scattered over Chelsea, Brompton and Pimlico, where a number of beerhouses serve to mark the poorer working-class streets. In Mayfair the Duke of Westminster has abolished a large number of licences and the same policy has prevailed in Pimlico.

Places of Amusement.—Concert-halls rather than theatres are found within the map area: the district goes as a rule to the Strand for its amusement, though there are some local theatres, such as the 'Coronet' at Notting Hill and the 'Court' in Sloane Square. The exhibitions held every Summer at Earl's Court and the National museums in South Kensington attract large numbers from outside.

Open Spaces.—Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens and the Green Park are the largest and the best known. Minor open spaces are wanted in Marylebone and Lisson Grove, though Regent's Park is not very far distant. The number of squares (for the use of residents only) is a feature of Bayswater, Kensington, Chelsea and Belgravia. Paddington Green in the North, Embankment Gardens and the gardens of Chelsea Hospital are open to the public. Battersea Park, though outside the map, is much used by the inhabitants of Chelsea. As a whole, the district is one of the best in London as regards the provision of air space and public playgrounds.

Health.—Good, except in parts of Marylebone, Lisson Grove, and Chelsea. The ground undulates slightly, being rather higher to the north than to the south of Hyde Park. The highest point is Campden Hill on the western side of the map and the lowest is in Chelsea and Pimlico by the river. The soil is sand and gravel, with a band of clay down the hollow in the centre which starts from the great clay bed of North London and follows the line of the Serpentine and St. James's Park and ends near Charing Cross: another branch of London clay circles the west side of Campden Hill and follows the north side of Kensington High Street ending in Kensington Gardens.

Changes of Population.—Great changes have taken place, and are still in progress, connected with the displacement of the working classes by the demolition of their houses, to make way for railway stations and sidings, as in the case of the Great Central, or houses and flats for the richer classes, as in Chelsea. The ground is too valuable for two-storeyed working-class houses or for slum areas.

Those who come in are drawn either from the surrounding streets or from other districts. As the new 'pink' street draws the colour from the contiguous streets and leaves them purple, so the new 'yellow' streets in the neighbourhood of Sloane Street have drawn the 'yellow' from parts of Kensington and left them red: in the same way the 'red' flats of Marylebone have drawn the red from Westbourne Grove and Paddington and left them pink-barred. Part of the deterioration of the middle-class streets on the western edges of the map is to be accounted for in this way, though it is also partly due to the carrying off of their people to western suburbs by the Tube Railway and the electric tramways. The displaced poor from Lisson Grove have tried first to crowd into the surrounding streets and then have drifted further West to the Clarendon Street district and thence to Kensal New Town: others have gone North to Kilburn or in a more southerly direction to Notting Dale. Those displaced of the respectable working classes have gone either into the new 'models' in

St. John's Wood, or have moved into the new districts round Kensal Rise and Child's Hill.

South of the parks the drift of the dispossessed poor has been to Lambeth, Battersea and Fulham: some of the middle classes have moved from Chelsea into newer houses in Fulham, and the 'pink' classes have gone with them.

Means of Locomotion.—The three great railway termini in the map are the Marylebone Station of the Great Central Railway, Paddington of the Great Western Railway, and Victoria, of the South Eastern and Chatham Railway, and London, Brighton and South Coast Railway. The Metropolitan extension comes into the district at Baker Street. The chief suburban traffic is done by the Metropolitan and District Railways, by the Central London Electric Railway, which runs beneath Oxford Street between the Bank and Shepherd's Bush, where it connects with electric tramways, and by the lines starting from Victoria Station. The Underground Railway almost completely encircles the district. Except for a few yards in the Harrow Road there is no tram line in the map. Omnibuses in great numbers run along the main roads.

Transit facilities are badly wanted between the railway termini north and south of the park: many tube railways are projected, but only the Waterloo and Baker Street Railway has been started.

PLACES OF WORSHIP.

List of Parish Churches situated in the district described in Part II., Chapter II., with other PLACES OF WORSHIP grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes.

All Saints, Knightsbridge.
Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge.
*Cong. Ch., Trevor Sq.

All Saints, Paddington.
Y. M. C. A. Hall, Cambridge Pl.

Christ Church, Chelsea.
Welsh Cong. Ch., Radnor St.

Christ Ch., Lancaster Gate.
Church Ho., 36, Porchester Ter.
U. Meth. Free Ch., Queen's Rd.

Christ Church, Mayfair.
Curzon Epis. Ch., Curzon St.

Holy Trinity, Brompton.
*Holy Trinity Miss., Yeoman's Row.
The Oratory (R. C.), Brompton Rd.

Holy Trinity, Chelsea.
St. Jude's, Turk's Row.
Wesl. Ch., Sloane Terrace.
Bapt. Ch., Lower Sloane St.

Holy Trinity, Marylebone.
(Only part of this parish is in this district. For List of Places of Worship see Vol. II., ch. 4.)

Holy Trinity, Paddington.
Prim. Meth. Ch., Harrow Rd.
Bayswater Synagogue, Chichester Place.

St. Anselm, Davies Street.
King's Weigh House Ch. (Cong.), Duke St.
Regent Hall (Salv. Army), Oxford St.

St. Augustine, Kensington.
St. Paul's Church House, Clareville Grove.

St. Barnabas, Kensington.
St. Barnabas' Church House, Warwick Rd.

St. Barnabas, Pimlico.
St. John, Pimlico Rd.
Carmel Bapt. Ch., Westbourne St.
Brethren's Meeting Room, 184a, Ebury St.
Working Men's Christian Association, 188, Ebury St.

St. Cuthbert, Philbeach Gds.

St. George, Campden Hill.
Campden Hall, Edge St.

* Now closed (1902).

St. George *(continued)*—
Bethesda Bapt. Chapel, Kensington Place.
Mall Hall (Prim. Meth.), The Mall.
Essex Unitarian Ch., Kensington Palace Gardens.
New Jerusalem Ch., Kensington Palace Gardens Terrace.
L. C. Miss. Hall, Edge St.

St. George, Hanover Square.
St. Mary, Bourdon St.
Berkeley Epis. Ch., John St.
St. George's Epis. Ch., Albemarle St.
Grosvenor Epis. Ch., South Audley St.
Immaculate Conception (R.C.), Farm St.

St. James, Westbourne Terr.
Craven Hill Cong. Ch., Craven Terrace.
Miss. Room, Brook Mews North.

St. John, Chelsea.
St. John's Miss., Dartrey Rd.
Gunter Hall (St. John's), Gunter Grove.
St. Mark's Coll. Ch., Fulham Rd.
Cong. Ch., Edith Grove.
Lackland Hall (L. C. M.), Lackland St.
Salv. Army Hall, Riley St.

St. John, Ladbroke Grove.
St. John's Miss., 7, Bulmer Ter.
Horbury Cong. Ch., Kensington Park Rd.
St. Francis of Assisi (R. C.), Pottery Lane.

St. John Baptist, Kensington.

St. John Evan., Paddington.
Ch. Army Rm., Torrington Mews.

St. Jude, Kensington.

St. Luke, Brompton.
St. Luke's Church House, 94, Ifield Rd.

St. Luke, Chelsea.
St. Luke's Old Church, Cheyne Walk.
Park Episcopal Ch., Park Walk.
St. Peter's Miss., Britten St.
Oakley Miss., Manor St.
Onslow Dwell. Hall, Pond Pl.
Cong. Ch., Markham Square.
Wesl. Ch., Justice Walk.
U. Meth. Free Ch., College Pl.
U. Meth. Free Ch., Marlboro' Sq.
Stewart Memorial Presb. Miss., 19A, College St.
Cath. Apostolic Ch., College St.
Manresa Gospel Hall (Breth.), Trafalgar Sq.
Bedford Hall (L. C. M.), Upper Manor St.
L. C. Miss. Hall, 5, Leader St.
Sydney Temp. Hall, Marlboro' Pl.
Convent Chapel (R. C.), 28, Beaufort St.
Holy Redeemer (R. C.), Upper Cheyne Row.

St. Luke, Tavistock Place.
St. Mary of the Angels (R. C.), Westmoreland Rd.

St. Mark, North Audley St.
St. Saviour's Ch. for Deaf and Dumb, Oxford St.

St. Mary, Boltons.
Baptist Ch., Drayton Gardens.
Our Lady of Seven Doleurs (R. C.), 264, Fulham Rd.

St. Mary, Marylebone.
Brunswick Chapel (Church Army), Up. Berkeley St.
Prim. Meth. Ch., Seymour Pl.
Ch. of the Annunciation (French R. C.), Little George St.

St. Mary, Paddington.
St. David's Welsh Ch., St. Mary's Terrace.
Beulah Bapt. Ch., Harrow Rd.
Cath. Apostolic Ch., Maida Hill West.
Salv. Army Barracks, 55, Harrow Rd.
L. C. Miss., 2, Cuthbert Street.
Paddington Wharves Miss. (L. C. M.), Church Place.
New Providence Miss., 347A, Edgware Rd.
Paddington Hall Mis., Church St.

St. Mary Abbot, Kensington.
Christ Church, Victoria Road.
St. Paul, Vicarage Gardens.
St. Mary's Miss., St. Alban's Rd.
Cong. Ch., Allen Street.
Wesl. Ch., Clarence Place.
Presb. Ch., Emperor's Gate.
Hornton Chapel (Brethren), Hornton St.

St. Mary Abbot (*continued*)—
Our Lady of Mt. Carmel (R. C.), Duke's Lane.
Convent Chapel (R. C.), Kensington Sq.

St. Mary Magd., Paddington.
St. Martha's Miss., Cirencester St.
Ranelagh Hall, Cirencester St.

St. Marylebone, Marylebone.
Parish Chapel, High Street.
Good Shepherd Miss., 60, Paddington St.
St. James's Epis. Chapel, Westmoreland St.
*Portman Epis. Ch., Baker St.
Russian Chapel, Welbeck St.

St. Matthew, Bayswater.
St. Matthew's Church House, Moscow Rd.
French Reformed Evangelical Ch., Monmouth Rd.
Greek Church, Moscow Rd.
New West End Synagogue, Petersburgh Pl.

St. Matthias, Earl's Court.
St. John's Miss. (Presb.), Redfield Lane.

St. Michael and All Angels, Paddington.
Baptist Chapel, Praed St.
Boatmen's Chapel, Sale St.

St. Michael, Chester Square.
†Eaton Episc. Chapel, Eaton Square.

St. Paul, Onslow Square.
St. Luke's Ch., Consumption Hospital, Brompton Rd.
Onslow Bapt. Ch., Neville St.

St. Paul, Paddington.
St. Paul's Miss., Waverley Rd.

St. Paul, Wilton Place.
St. Mary, Graham Street.
St. Paul's Miss. House, Kinnerton St.
Belgrave Epis. Ch., Halkin St.
Presb. Ch., West Halkin St.
Servants' Miss., 109, Eaton Ter.

St. Peter, Cranley Gardens.

St. Peter, Eaton Square.
St. John, Wilton Road.
St. Peter's Chapel, Palace St.
Cong. Ch., Eccleston Square.
Cong. Ch., St. Leonard Street.
(Part of St. Peter's parish is included in the previous chapter.)

St. Peter, Kensington Pk. Rd.
St. Peter's Mis., Portobello Rd.
Bapt. Ch., Westbourne Grove.
Wesl. Chapel, Denbigh Road.

St. Philip, Earl's Court.
Wesl. Ch., Warwick Gardens.
St. John's Presb. Ch., Allen St.
Procathedral (R. C.), Kensington Rd.

St. Saviour, Chelsea.
St. Matthew's Miss., Walton St.
St. Columba (Ch. of Scotland), Pont St.
Salv. Army Barracks, Denyer St.

St. Simon, Chelsea.
Ch. Army Hall, Marlboro' Rd.
St. Mary (R. C.), Cadogan St.

St. Stephen, Gloucester Rd.

St. Stephen, Westbourne Pk.
Westbourne Park Bapt. Chapel, Porchester Road.
St. Paul's Presb. Ch., Westbourne Grove.

St. Thomas, Portman Square.
St. Thomas' Miss., 33, James St.
Wesl. Ch., Hinde Street.
Brethren's Meeting House, 71, Welbeck St.
Gray's Yard Ragged Ch., James St.
Polytechnic Miss., Gee's Court.
St. James (R. C.), Spanish Pl.

The Annunciation, Bryanston St.
Christian Scientist Ch., Bryanston St.

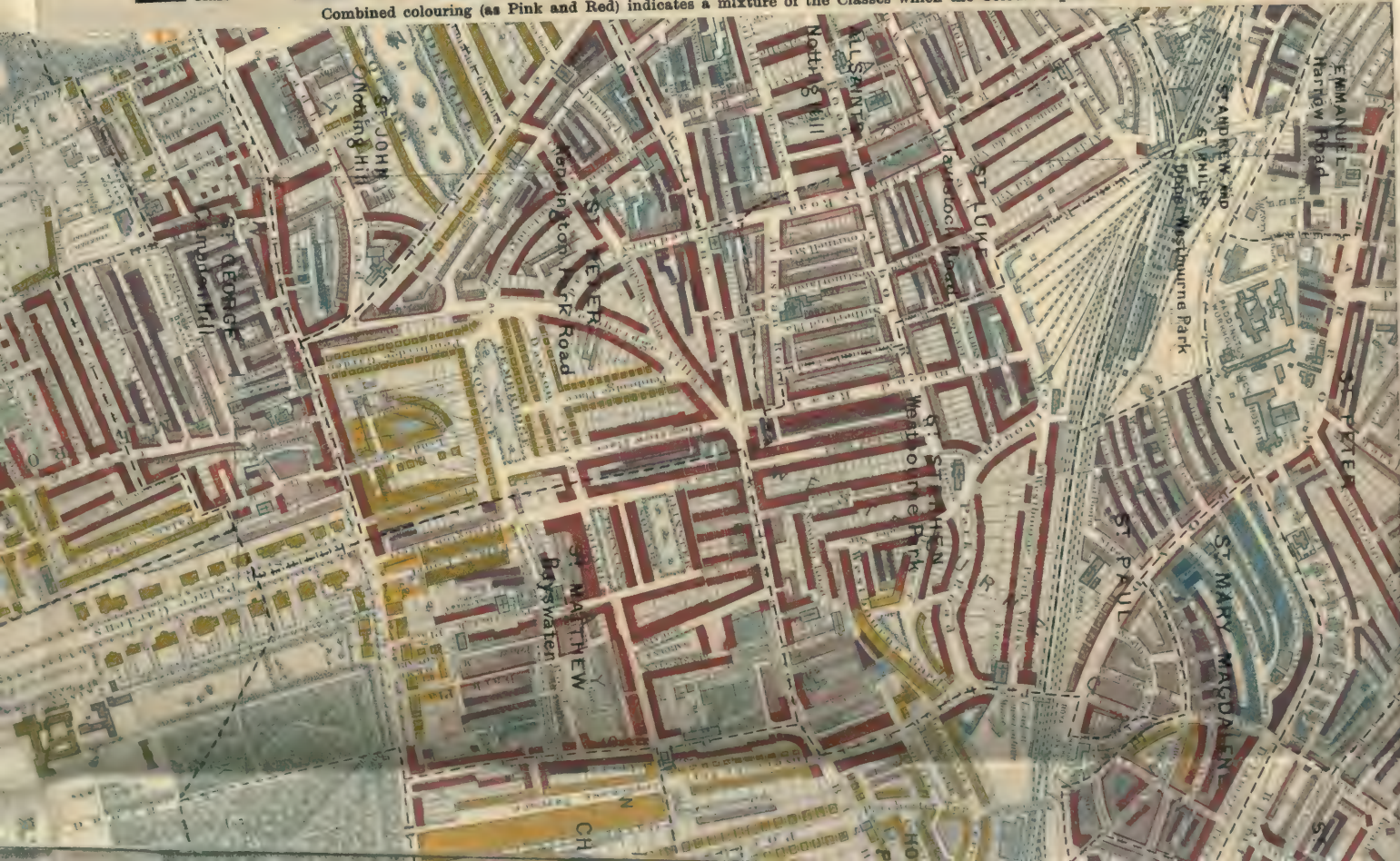
* A new parish (St. Paul, Portman Square) was formed in May, 1901, from St. Marylebone, with this chapel as its parish church.
† Now demolished (1902).

Map M.—THE INNER WEST (1900).

The Streets are coloured according to social condition of inhabitants as under:—

Lowest Class	Very Poor	Moderate Poverty	Poverty & Comfort (mixed)	Fairly Comfortable	Well-to-do	Wealthy

Combined colouring (as Pink and Red) indicates a mixture of the Classes which the Colours represent.




ST MATTHEW
CHRIST CHURCH
ST MARY
ST BARNABAS
ST MARK
PADDINGTON BASIN
ST MICHAEL & ALL ANGELS
TRINITY
ALL SAINTS
ST LUKE
ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST
ST JAMES
CHURCH
THE BASIN
SERPENTINE


ST MARY
ST MATTHEW
CHRIST CHURCH
ST BARNABAS
ST MARK
ALL SAINTS
ST LUKE
ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST
ST JAMES


HOLY TRINITY
Marylebone Road
ST MARYLEBONE
ST PAUL
Portman Sq
ALL SOULS
Langham Place
ST THOMAS
Portman Square
THE ANNUNCIATION
ST ANSELM
ST MARK
North Audley St
ST GEORGE
Hanover Square
CHRIST CHURCH
Mayfair


ALL SAINTS
Knightsbridge
IMPERIAL INSTITUTE
Imperial Institute Road
SCIENCE DIVISION
NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM
ST STEPHEN
HOLY TRINITY
Brompton
ST AUGUSTINE
South Kensington
ST PAUL
Onslow Sq
ST PETER
Cranley Gardens
ST LUKE
CHRIST CHURCH
Chelsea
PARK CHAPEL


CHRIST CHURCH
Mayfair
HOLY TRINITY
Brompton
ST PAUL
Wilton Place
ST PETER
Eaton Square
HOLY TRINITY
Upper Chelsea
ST MICHAEL
Chester Square
ST JUDE
Upper Chelsea
ST BARNABAS
Pimlico
ROYAL HOSPITAL
CHELSEA BARRACKS
VICTORIA BRIDGE
GROSVENOR
CONSTITUTION HILL
BELGRAVE
SLOANE
PIMLICO
Victoria Pier
Battersea Park Pier


St MARY ABBOTS
Kensington
St STEPHEN
St AUGUSTINE
South Kensington
ST JUDE
ST MATTHIAS
Earls Court
ST PETER
Cranley Garden
ST MARY
Brompton
PAUL
Onslow Sq


ALL SAINTS
Knightsbridge
HOLY TRINITY
Knightsbridge
HOLY TRINITY
Brompton
ST SAVIOUR
HOLY TRINITY
Upper Chelsea
ST SIMON
Zelotes
Upper Chelsea
ST LUKE
CHRIST CHURCH
Chelsea
BARRACKS
KNIGHTSBRIDGE
BROMPTON ROAD
SLOANE STREET
ROYAL
HOSPITAL

CHAPTER III

THE OUTER WEST

§ 1

INTRODUCTORY

The greater part of the district which forms the subject of this chapter is shown on Sheet (N) of the coloured map, the portion omitted being Fulham, which extends South between the bends of the river. Of this a separate Map (O) is given.

We have already traced the line of poverty which follows the Grand Junction Canal from Paddington Basin to the Lock Hospital, and as its track winds once more to the North, before passing out of London at Kensal Green, it leaves between itself and the railway another isolated district, shaped like a shoe and just as full of children and poverty as was the old woman's dwelling in the nursery rhyme.

In the present chapter we start from this spot at Kensal New Town, and proceed first northward to the comfortable district of Queen's Park; thence South across the railway line to the mixed, but on the whole decadent neighbourhood of Kensington Park; and from there to the unhappy district known as Notting Dale, of which the West London Junction Railway forms the western boundary. Beyond lies the open ground of Wormwood Scrubs.

Further South, London extends westward into Shepherd's Bush and Hammersmith, and we finally

pass into Fulham and so again eastward, to complete our circuit where Fulham meets with Chelsea at 'The World's End.'

Throughout the whole area covered fashion has no place and wealth is the exception. There is, however, much satisfactory working-class comfort, and a considerable amount of middle-class respectability. But many of the quarters in which the latter is found show symptoms of social decline, and the area contains one of the worst patches of outcast life in London. Nowhere north of the Thames are the problems connected with the growth and expansion of the metropolis so well defined as here. At Shepherd's Bush there is a district where for a moment London is pausing before pouring down her bricks and mortar, and pushing out the net-work of streets. Here the choice is still open between healthy and unhealthy expansion. In Fulham building is already in dangerously rapid progress. The choice has been made; with what outlook will be seen.

§ 2

KENSAL NEW TOWN

Kensal New Town is old, like many other things that bear the appellation 'new' in an old world. It is all that remains to us of an ancient village, which must have existed long before the canal was made, and still retains a rustic group of red-roofed cottages hung with creepers, and a noisy public-house going by the name of the 'Lads of the Village.' But there have been many changes: for the worse, when South Row, East Row, and West Row were built, and colonized by riff-raff driven from the slums of Tyburnia, on the


SKETCH MAP OF DISTRICT
THE OUTER WEST.
VOL III. PART II CHAPTER III.
POPULATION (1891) OF ECCLESIASTICAL PARISHES.
KENSINGTON.
St MICHAEL 9,086
St ANDREW 9,333
CHRISTCHURCH 8,275
St HELEN 3,162
HOLY TRINITY 5,518
St MARK 8,039
ALL SAINTS 15,827
St CLEMENT 10,874
St JAMES 8,970
FULHAM.
St MARY 5,702
St ANDREW, St AUGUSTINE, St ALBAN 20,056
St CLEMENT 6,737
St ETHELDREDA, ALL SAINTS 6,657
St PETER 11,987
St JOHN, St OSWALD 17,676
St JAMES, St MATTHEW 15,960
St DIONIS 7,884
HAMMERSMITH.
ALL SOULS 600
St LUKE, St SAVIOUR 12,522
St STEPHEN 8,969
St MARY 5,620
St THOMAS 3,633
St SIMON 5,556
HOLY INNOCENTS, St JOHN EVANst 12,525
St MATTHEW 12,388
St PETER 8,586
St PAUL 11,732
KENSAL TOWN.
St THOMAS 3,536
St JUDE 17,874
St JOHN 8,642
St MARY, PADDINGTON.
St SIMON INCLUDED WITH St JUDE
St LUKE 972
EMMANUEL 9,081
TOTAL (1891) 298,717
INCREASING TO (1901) 367,648
FOR FIGURES SEE MAP.
FOR OTHER STATISTICS SEE BACK OF MAP
L & N.W.R.
HARROW ROAD
G.W.R.
GRAND JUNCTION CANAL
WORMWOOD SCRUBBS.
PRISON.
SHEPHERDS BUSH
UXBRIDGE ROAD
KENSINGTON.
HAMMERSMITH.
KING STREET
CHELSEA
BARNES.
PUTNEY.
WANDSWORTH.
BATTERSEA.
THAMES.
UPPER RICHMOND ROAD
OLD BROMPTON RD
FULHAM ROAD
KINGS ROAD
WEST LONDON RAILWAY
FULHAM PALACE.
PARSONS GREEN
WALHAM GREEN

STATISTICS *bearing on the* AREA INCLUDED IN SKETCH MAP NO. 12. *Described in Ch. III. & IV. (Vol. III., Pt. II.).*

CENSUS STATISTICS.

Showing Increase or Decrease of Population.

Population in				Increase per Cent.	
1881.	1891.	1896.	1901.	1881-1891.	1891-1901.
250,029	329,416	361,594	394,746	**31·75 %**	**19·83 %**

Density of Population.

1891.	1901.
Persons per Acre.	
58·6	69·9
Inhabited Houses.	
44,865	51,578
Persons per House.	
7·3	7·6
Number of Acres.	
5,618	

Age and Sex in 1891.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Together.
Under 5 years	19,721	19,987	39,708
5 & under 15 yrs	33,216	34,979	68,195
— 20 ,,	13,624	17,202	30,826
— 25 ,,	13,088	19,533	32,621
— 35 ,,	24,519	32,930	57,449
— 45 ,,	18,837	23,355	42,192
— 55 ,,	12,846	15,961	28,807
— 65 ,,	6,860	9,739	16,599
65 and over	4,636	8,383	13,019
Totals ...	147,347	182,069	329,416

NOTE.—The district includes the whole of Fulham, Hammersmith, and Kensal Town as well as the northern and most populous part of Kensington Town Registration sub-district. As it is not possible to divide the figures for this district they have been included in these tables. The southern part of Kensington being the wealthier, the Outer West area is probably slightly more crowded than these tables indicate. For details of Special Family Enumeration, see Appendix.

SPECIAL ENUMERATION for this INQUIRY (1891).

Sex, Birthplace and Industrial Status of Heads of Families.

Sex.		Birthplace.		Industrial Status.			Total Heads.
Male.	Female.	In London.	Out of London.	Employers	Employees	Neither.	
56,148 78 %	16,048 22 %	28,947 40 %	43,249 60 %	7,656 11 %	45,464 63 %	19,076 26 %	72,196 100 %

Constitution of Families.

Heads.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total in Families.
72,196 (1·0)	63,352 (·88)	161,988 (2·24)	22,539 (·31)	320,075 (4·43)

Social Classification according to *Rooms Occupied* or *Servants Kept.*

	Persons.	Per Cent.	
4 or more persons to a room	10,991	3·3	Crowded 27·0 %
3 & under 4 ,, ,,	20,954	6·4	
2 & ,, 3 ,, ,,	56,940	17·3	
1 & ,, 2 ,, ,,	74,760	22·7	Not Crowded 73·0°
Less than 1 person to a room	12,813	3·9	
Occupying more than 4 rooms	71,319	21·7	
4 or more persons to 1 servant	20,511	6·2	
Less than 4 persons to 1 servant & 4 to 7 persons to 2 servants	15,491	4·7	
All others with 2 or more servants	13,757	4·2	
Servants in families	22,539	6·8	
Inmates of Institutions (including servants)	9,341	2·8	
Total	329,416	100	
Living in Poverty (as estimated in 1889)		28·5 %	100 %
,, in Comfort (,, ,,)		71·5 %	

construction of the Great Western Railway; and for the better, when more recently the new laundries were built—an improvement only gained, however, at the expense of other streets in 'Soapsuds Island,' as the whole place is sometimes called. The spot is endowed with most of the features which in London when combined always lead to poverty and low life: canal and railway, gas works, isolation, and the washing industry. But though it is ill-arranged, uncomfortable, and incomplete, the western end of the island is very well suited for general industrial purposes, and if this part should continue to improve it might conceivably drag up with it the other half of the district.

The houses at the eastern end were not ill-built, but were constructed for a class far superior to that which seems ever to have occupied them, and four or five families now live in houses which were intended for only one. Vice does not seem to be so prevalent as in the similar district described in the last chapter. Thieves and prostitutes are not so numerous; nor are so many absolutely repulsive faces to be seen at door or window. But the visible outward conditions are nearly, if not quite, as bad: windows broken and dirty; boys and girls, of from twelve to sixteen, looking ill-fed; ragged, hatless, and unwashed; trousers in tatters, skirts frayed and draggled; and toes showing through miserable boots. Moreover, the poor area is greater. The men, calling themselves navvies and builders' labourers, are a very mixed class, who depend largely upon their wives' earnings. To 'marry an ironer is as good as a fortune.' As a result there is much loafing and at the least a suspicion of crime. Both men and women drink heavily.

Displaced by the Great Central Railway, a large number of poor Catholics have lately moved from Lisson Grove to these streets, and the priests and

Sisters find it all they can do to manage their flock. They are over-run with children, for whom new schools are being built. On their Patron Saint's day they have a procession, a mile in length, which marches with banners through the streets to the delight of the inhabitants at large. The priests perhaps reach, more or less, most of their own people, who are practically all Irish. Begging is chronic among them, and is satisfied by the 'handing out of threepences.'

The rest of the population are reported to be indifferent to any form of religion. Churches and missions are equally ignored. It is only among the children that any success is attained.

§ 3

QUEEN'S PARK

To the rude and ragged poverty we have described, the district to the North affords a great contrast. It is the site of the Queen's Park Estate, well laid out and carefully sustained in respectability by its owners (the Artisans', Labourers', and General Dwellings Company). The occupants are of the regularly employed class: railway men or police, artisans, small clerks, and others. The competition for these popular little houses is great. There is always a waiting list of applicants, and the rents are raised a little for newcomers. Payment is never in arrear, as eviction would be prompt, and one week's rent is payable in advance. Some of the tenants take in a lodger, but there are no poor. The streets are broad and well paved, with trim side-walks and granite curbs, and trees planted at intervals. The houses are of two storeys, varied with occasional gable ends or little towers, and all

are kept in good repair. This type of house is found on the outskirts of London in various parts. Everywhere it is successful. The profits from such property may not be very large, but if the streets are well laid out, and the houses well built, the returns are sure.

Public-houses are entirely excluded from the estate, with the result, it must be admitted, that those situated near have acquired an inflated value, while houses with off licences do a great trade for home consumption, but these cluster most thickly near the laundry region on the North-West boundary. Even cookshops and restaurants are excluded. The streets are very quiet at night; it is a district of home-life and of comfort; if other pleasures are sought they are found elsewhere, as is also the daily work of all the men.

Most of the dwellers on the estate seem to be church-goers in the full sense of a more or less regular attendance at either church or chapel. The Congregationalist body is the strongest, but as the Church of England here is not Ritualistic, all sects work harmoniously together. The vicar of St. Jude's has known the district since the creation of his parish, nearly twenty-five years ago, and so has his neighbour at St. Luke's. Both have seen the great growth of population. A mission district, with six thousand inhabitants, has been carved from St. Jude's, and a new church (St. Simon's) built. In all these churches fair congregations are obtained, and enough volunteers can be had, but what in the Church of England is understood as 'social work' is scarcely needed, and there is some lack of ardour.

The enthusiasm is reserved for the great Congregationalist organization, which, though first of all a Church, is something much more. It is also an Institute, with numerous technical classes and hundreds of students, many of whom come to it with London County Council scholarships; it comprises, in addition,

a large club and literary society, which provide lectures, concerts, and entertainments, and throw off minor clubs for other purposes. The lines of Dr. Clifford's work are thus followed closely. The religious side is also very vigorous, and, altogether, Nonconformity forms at this centre a healthy community full of its own life and its own interests. The church is a rendezvous for young people, who crowd to it from all sides. There is hardly a Sunday evening when some are not turned away for lack of room ; and 'The capacious church, crowded in every part, is a wonderful and inspiring sight—a sight to make the preacher think and tremble with a sense of his great responsibility before God and his fellow-creatures.' The people mostly come from the neighbourhood, and are friendly and sociable. They can easily help their own poor. There is a Samaritan Fund connected with the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon service, a savings' bank, a slate club, and medical society; some Christmas dinners are given, and children's dinners on occasion; but of titular 'mission work' there is none. The gulf that lies between these people and the cadging poor south of the canal is not easily bridged. Both may be accounted members of the working classes, but how far apart!

The Wesleyans are also fairly successful, though in a more humdrum way. They are content to collect and keep together their own people, who are mostly a good class of artisans or small tradesmen—country folk brought up as Wesleyans. Their numbers increase with the increase of the population, and the district is spoken of as most favourable to Wesleyanism, although the people appear to be less keen than in the country. They embark on no aggressive work, make no particular effort to touch the outside world, and it is sadly said that even their own members don't seem to care to talk about religion. The habit of religious

gipsying among chapel-goers is also commented on, and from this habit it is very likely that Dr. Clifford or Dr. Forster (the Congregationalist here) may gain more than the Wesleyans.

The conditions of life on the Queen's Park Estate seem very stable, but the district beyond, on or about the metropolitan boundary, is said to suffer from newness and want of 'roots,' people moving too readily from street to street. A new house is often the attraction, and to this in some parts of Willesden has been added the chance of becoming its owner—in which case we may hope that stability will follow.

It should be said that this comfortable working-class district has a fringe of poverty to the North, some of the poorest bits being found beyond the Metropolitan border in Willesden. This is a development frequent all round London that needs to be watched closely, for since everywhere the conditions of life largely depend on the character of the houses, public control is essential.

§ 4

KENSINGTON PARK

To the south of the railway we pass into another working-class district, where the Church of England would seem to have the administration of religion mainly in its own hands; and, as with the two parishes to the North, the incumbent of Christ Church has been in charge since the institution of the living twenty-two years ago.

There are not many in this parish either above or below the working-class level, but the average is considerably lower than on the Queen's Park Estate.

The class of people, and the difficulty of reaching them on ordinary Church of England lines, is indicated by the 'We-don't-want-anything-thank-you' spirit in which house to house parochial visitation is met. The people hold themselves above it, connecting visiting with relief, and the attempt has in consequence been abandoned, but no good substitute has been found by which interest in the Church can be aroused. Out of this rather difficult material congregations of moderate size are gathered. The services are simple in character, and the doctrinal attitude broad. It is extremely probable that Dr. Clifford's great enterprise attracts some from this neighbourhood, as it lies betwixt his church in Westbourne Park and its mission in Kensal New Town.

In the parish of All Saints, further South, we have a decayed neighbourhood, and (as is then so often the case) a High Church organization. It has a mixed population of professional men, writers, actors, and others of like kidney, together with middle and lower middle-class shopkeepers. Many are people of small means who have come down in the world, and, except the Jews who are invading the Ladbroke region, there are none who are rising. The poor here are really poor : migratory labourers lacking altogether the stability and settled comfort found in the working-class district to the north of the Canal.

Parish work, again, is not an easy task, although the clergy seek to apply different and appropriate methods to the different classes of people with whom they have to deal. All is on advanced High Church lines. The very clergy house suggests a Catholic Presbytery, as the priests all live there, and may be seen walking about the neighbourhood in cassock and biretta. Some old church attenders have left in disgust, but others have come, and (the main thing) the church has been filled, partly no doubt with

outsiders, but mainly with middle-class parishioners. There is a second church ; but, this, in the St. Colomb Mission district, with a population of eight thousand, is practically independent. Both churches are filled. There are wards and guilds and confraternities, and from amongst ladies of small means, shop assistants, and other parishioners, many helpers are found for district visiting and charitable work, and for teaching in the Sunday schools. Help of this kind is not difficult to obtain here; the real problem is how to get at the 'people': that is, at the great mass who remain untouched, and especially the poor.

The church of St. Mark, in the adjoining parish to the West, despite a bad situation, is fairly filled with middle-class people, drawn mainly from the streets north of the railway. The poor are said to be 'friendly enough, but not church-goers.'

The Ritualism which prevails in the Church of England does not hold the field in this district, for in it Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and Baptists, are all strongly represented. The Presbyterians especially have gained considerably by the adhesion of Evangelicals alienated by High Church proceedings. Their church has a well-to-do congregation drawn from all sides, and includes a very elaborate organization for mutual improvement and for missionary work. Servant girls are said to be among the most active members of this congregation, 'doing more, and giving more,' in proportion to their means and opportunities, than any other class. The Wesleyans claim to have a working-class congregation, but are helped in their finance by having clerks, shopkeepers, and professional men among their members. They make much use of music in their services, and work actively in the cause of thrift and temperance. Of their own congregation most are total abstainers, but the people generally they report as being thriftless, and with no more forethought than children.

In common with the Presbyterians, they denounce the prevalence of gambling and drink.

The Baptists in Ladbroke Grove are even more vigorous and successful, but very few of their people come from the immediate neighbourhood, and hardly any of them are of the working class. The members of this church, though they engage in missionary work, feel that visitation and relief have been overdone, and that the people have been demoralized. Their best religious work is among themselves. For their own people, there is a meeting of some kind almost every night, and their pastor does not hesitate to deal with social and political questions from the pulpit, a rather rare thing among the Baptists.

The Talbot Tabernacle ('Undenominational, Evangelical, Protestant') serves the needs of a less definite religious body, and its congregations include very few men, but it is numerously attended by young people and children, and its activities include much mission work for the benefit of the poor, conducted by a 'Young Christian Band,' which counts one hundred and twenty members. All the agencies are run on what are termed 'Apostolic lines,' and the operations of their 'Christian Band' fill the time and place which concerts and entertainments might otherwise occupy in these young people's lives. Church membership here is said to remain constant, at five hundred, although as individuals, half of this number may be expected to change in the course of five years from removals or other causes.

'Oversight' is attempted by a system of tickets, to prove regularity of attendance at church, a plan which sounds obnoxious, and may account for the small proportion of men, but is said to work fairly well among the young people, of whom, as we have said, the congregation chiefly consists. But it is not surprising that so strict a system has its drawbacks, and leads those

responsible for it to emphasize the difficulties due to carelessness, or to the seductions of Sunday cycling and the Sunday papers.

It is to be noted that the pastor of this Tabernacle has been engaged here for twenty-three years, so the work with which he is identified is no passing phase.

The Salvation Army corps in this neighbourhood, though its work is of course more recent than that of the others, has also remarkable local strength, and notwithstanding frequent changes of *personnel* from removals, seems firmly rooted. Many of the Salvationists are domestic servants, and otherwise almost all are of the working class. Their little hall is crowded, and something more like ordinary congregational life seems to be realized here in place of the prolonged struggle of less successful corps; but their efforts overflow as usual in open-air meetings and other militant work. At the moment they have no public-house brigade, this work being as they say dropped from time to time: they 'get tired of the insults,' but by-and-by take it up again.

Putting it all together, this district evidently enjoys a very varied religious life.

§ 5

A PIECE OF UNBUILT LONDON

Between Ladbroke Grove Road and Wormwood Scrubbs we come upon some vacant ground available for building. Of such space there is very little within the limits of London to the North, but the question of its occupation constitutes the chief interest of the outermost West, which may be said to begin at this point, and one cannot look at the map without many fears of what may be to come here. In the northern

corner, by the cemetery, the canal bends once more away from the railway, and, happily, the space is being entirely occupied by the gasworks, but to the south of the railway line, shut in by the buildings of the Marylebone Infirmary, a miserably poor and disorderly district is forming, which threatens to spread alongside of the line. How shall this be stopped? Not, I venture to say, by the plan so far adopted on the St. Quintin Estate of laying out streets and building houses for a well-to-do middle class, who may not come or might not stay, but rather by following the lead of the Queen's Park Estate enterprise, in supplying the great and genuine demand for an improved type of dwelling arranged for one or two families of upper working class and such as keep no servants. They would come and they would stay. Little Wormwood Scrubbs, and as much as possible of the cricket ground, should be jealously guarded as permanent open space. But for the rest the whole area from railway to railway might well be filled with houses of this type. Such houses and their occupants would without any doubt have the effect of stopping the spread of Notting Dale conditions northward, and might perhaps save from decay the middle-class property upon which the St. Quintin Estate has rashly embarked, and even lift out of their squalor the group of streets near the Infirmary. Here, again, in the interest of the public, a complete plan is badly needed. The danger which I desire to emphasize, is lest good houses built for a middle class, failing to attract and falling out of fashion, should come to be let as tenements, while the adjoining streets of small property become slums; with the result that maintenance of a decent standard of life and health is almost an impossibility. This is no idle fear. We have seen it happen. To this danger and the modes of avoiding it I shall return.

At present the district contains no very large population. For its religious needs there are two churches, St. Michael and St. Helen, and a Church mission hall. The incumbent of one of these churches speaks of neglect in the past and 'undermanning' in the present, and says that no form of Christianity has any hold upon the people. The mission hall is situated in the poorest part of the district, and is managed by priests and Sisters on High Church lines. In an adjacent street a City missionary has his hall, made from two parlours of an ordinary house knocked into one, and holding about forty people. Here Sunday school is held, and in the evening there is a small gathering of adults. The missionary finds the people he visits accessible and civil spoken, though rough. They live from hand to mouth : the women work and drink ; the men loaf, and young fellows of eighteen to twenty congregate at the street corners.

Of such material it is that slum population is formed. Given suitable conditions this human material is propagated fast and it is capable of indefinite extension. Under converse conditions its gradual elimination is, happily, no less likely to follow.

§ 6

NOTTING DALE

The Potteries, which occupied part of the ground known now as Notting Dale, seem to have been built on an isolated estate only accessible along a narrow muddy lane. Whether from this bad start or from some other causes, historical or geographical, the district has for long been the resting place for tramps entering London from the North or West, and gipsy

blood is very evident amongst the children in the schools, and noticeable even in the streets. It has been, and is, a temporary halting place. Some of its denizens might stay only a night, some a week, others months or even years, but as a general rule, sooner or later, they were accustomed to move on to St. Giles's or Whitechapel, and thence forth again as fate or fancy or fortune stirred them; and then some day Notting Dale would see them once more. The stream still flows, but of late the inward current has been met here by a stronger outward tide of a different character, consisting of the very dregs of more central London stirred up and dispersed by improvements or alterations involving the destruction of old rookeries, and the result is a perhaps unexampled concourse of the disreputable classes. As to this all authorities are agreed.

These people are poor, in many cases distressfully so, but there may be truth in the statement of one of our lay witnesses that 'in these bad streets there is generally money going; it is the way of spending it that is amiss.' The inhabitants are, in fact, rather criminal than poor; or if not strictly criminal, very little removed from criminality. They form the most serious mass of the kind with which we have to deal; greater, probably, than any now remaining on any one spot in the central parts of London; and while the numbers elsewhere are decreasing, here they are increasing. Some years ago whole streets of houses built for classes who declined to occupy them were untenanted and in ruin, without even a pane of glass in their windows; now they are filled with people of this low class, and the bad element is spreading.

It is not all the same in character. The district might be compared to a vessel through which a foul stream is flowing, leaving continually a deposit; to which is added this further uncomfortable feature, that as the

flow and the deposit increase, so the capacity of the vessel increases also. But the deposit is less criminal and less disorderly than the stream, acquiring more the character of an industrial community. It settles down to, and comes to share in, the life and habits of the older inhabitants who have become suited to their environment.

It is upon these permanent, or more permanent, residents that religious missionary effort is poured out, and one of the results is that it has become customary with these people to appear poorer than they really are. 'You must not look comfortable or you won't get anything.' As a consequence, they 'don't study their homes.'

Among the regular inhabitants there seems to be no lack of work, and in this community the person who claims to be 'out of work' does not usually enter into competition, except as regards charitable gifts. What with laundry work for the women, 'bus yards and brickfields for the men, and a steady demand for builders' labourers in the immediate neighbourhood, plenty of money can be earned; whilst with so low a standard of home comfort, and so much charitable assistance going, there is comparatively little to spend it on. Drink does not seem to account sufficiently for the extra expenditure, perhaps pleasure-seeking does—such as visits to the music-halls in winter, and constant day trips and outings in summer. With these people work never stands in the way of pleasure. Thus they enjoy prosperity in a way, and endeavour to maintain a standard of life of their own. But it is not such as yields any financial reserve. They have nothing 'to show' for their expenditure, and those who work are at the mercy of a frost, or any other accidental check to their earnings. The purse of the charitable is their reserve.

It would not be fair to hold the churches and missions responsible for this state of things, but they

certainly do nothing to cure it, and they speak in very hopeless terms of their task.

The parishes concerned are St. Clement and St. James, and, more remotely, Holy Trinity, which is attached to the Harrow School Mission. There is also a Church of England mission connected with Rugby School. The Congregationalists have a church in Walmer Road and a mission in Olaf Street (out of Latimer Road), which has already been referred to as an offshoot of their church in Allen Street, Kensington. There is also an independent mission in Latimer Road, established in 1862, and then first in the field; and two or three London City missionaries devote themselves to the district. The Roman Catholics, too, have a church in Pottery Lane; there is thus no lack of effort.

At St. Clement's, with the exception of the sidesmen and the choir, all churchworkers come from outside the parish, but besides the four curates and some Sisters, there are only about ten district visitors, in addition to a few laymen who help with the clubs, for although the character of the parish demands so much, it is found difficult to obtain good workers. It is mentioned that even residents in Kensington prefer to go to the East End, and that amongst those of them who profess to take an interest in social questions, many seem never to have heard of this district, not even knowing where it is.

The services at this church are Ritualistic, a standpoint which, it is claimed, the people like, especially when taking the shape of processions and banners. Social work is vigorous: there are large clubs for men, boys and girls. For the men and boys billiard playing is a great attraction; in all there are seven tables. Visitation of the people is systematic, carried out from room to room, and the amount spent on relief very considerable, though confined as much as

possible to cases of sickness. The day schools accommodate seven or eight hundred children, but of these none are of the lowest class. The more respectable parents value the alternative provided by the church; the rough children go to the Board School.

In St. James's parish there are three churches, of which the minor ones, St. Gabriel and the Church of the Good Shepherd, are in the area we are describing. There is a fair congregation at St. Gabriel's on Sunday evening, but otherwise the services at both are scantily attended. St. James's itself, well placed in the centre of St. James's Square, has a large middle-class congregation. The poor parts of the parish are systematically visited, and the social agencies in operation are numerous.

The mission connected with Harrow School devotes much of its energies to the management of clubs for men and boys, and having full charge of Holy Trinity parish, has all the ordinary parochial organizations. Church attendance is small. Again the billiard-table is in the ascendant. There is also a mission financed from Rugby School, and supported in its work by old Rugbeians, which is almost exclusively devoted to the management of its club. This concentration has resulted in an excellent piece of work. In addition to its billiard-table, the club premises include a good swimming bath and full provision—educational, technical and recreative—is made. Nor is the religious element overlooked, but it is kept somewhat in the background.

The Olaf Street Congregational Mission began its work with the lodging-houses, but has gradually turned more towards the respectable working people of Latimer Road. The church in Walmer Road is also practically a mission, but is situated further from the black area. It has an honorary pastor: a man of business, who freely gives to this work

his evenings, Saturday afternoons and Sundays. The independent mission in Blechynden Street has several buildings—a gradual accretion around the small hall in which work was begun nearly forty years ago—and commands a considerable force of workers. The mission is mainly active among the more respectable who live in its immediate neighbourhood. A large women's sick benefit club, a girls' sewing club, and a *créche* for washerwomen's children have been provided and are successful. There is a 'farthing bank' with fourteen hundred depositors, 'cocoa concerts' are given to attract children (one penny admission returnable in refreshments), and there is a boys' shelter to which come the rougher class. Admission to this shelter is free and the rules few. Cheap refreshments are sold at the bar—all excellent work in its way. The Roman Catholic Church has charge of a large district, and counts four thousand souls as being at least nominally of its faith—a somewhat floating population, of whom most are Irish. Three priests are engaged in the work, helped by four or five members of a nursing sisterhood and a branch of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, in dealing with sickness and the relief of distress.

§ 7

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

Notting Dale is an outlying portion of Kensington, and its condition has been long felt to be a disgrace. Many schemes have been suggested and great efforts made to cope with it, and much disappointment has been felt at the result ; culminating at length in an almost despairing petition to the London County Council to take over and deal with the whole area, and

though this has been refused, presumably on the ground that so wealthy a locality should be able to manage its own affairs, it would really seem that nothing short of wholesale and drastic action would suffice. The medical officer complains that his staff is too small for effective supervision, but it is difficult to see what more could be done in this direction. Houses have been registered, drains generally overhauled, kitchens closed as sleeping rooms, surprise visits paid to check overcrowding, yards have been paved, house refuse is frequently and compulsorily removed and some streets have been asphalted; baths and washhouses, a recreation ground and library have been provided. Yet at the end of it all, the medical officer reports that 'the evil conditions still continue; much overcrowding remains; and the locality is much the same as formerly when it was described as being "as godforsaken as anything in London."' In 1898 the death-rate was 45·5 per 1000, and infant mortality reached the appalling figure of 419 per 1000.

The late vestry, though they recognised that the houses in themselves were good, and that it was the character of the inhabitants that was at fault, were opposed to any general plan of eviction, and, indeed, there would be great difficulty in carrying out such a plan. They looked to a gradual process of change, to be brought about by demolition and rebuilding, coupled with the erection of working-class dwellings on vacant land near by, as the likeliest remedy: it being hoped that being thus put under the harrow, the worst characters would be weeded out by being refused admission to the new buildings.

The problem is now left to the new Borough Council to solve.

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES. MAP N. (VOLUME III., PART II., CHAPTERS III. and IV.). The Outer West.

Adjoining Maps.—**E.** Inner West (p. 136) and Hampstead and St. John's Wood (Vol. I.) **S.** Fulham (p. 182).

General Character.—The area comprises the districts of Queen's Park, Kensal New Town, Kensington Park, Norland Town, Holland Park, West Kensington, Hammersmith, Brook Green, Shepherd's Bush, Starch Green and Ravenscourt Park.

Though the map shows some 'yellow' there is very little 'fashion' in it. Travelling from North to South there is the settled, comfortable, servantless, artisan 'pink' of Queen's Park in the North: further South is the light blue 'laundry' district of Kensal New Town: south of that are a certain number of struggling middle-class streets, and the large houses round Ladbroke Grove many of which are occupied by Jews; west of that are the 'black' streets of Notting Dale with a 'light blue' and 'purple' laundry district on its northern outskirts: further South is Holland Park 'yellow,' and West Kensington and Brook Green 'red' to 'pink-barred,' the district being helped by the settlement of families anxious to take advantage of the education afforded by St. Paul's and other schools: Shepherd's Bush has many lodgers in houses where a servant is kept, and is mainly 'pink-barred,' verging to purple and light blue in Starch Green, which is another large laundry district. Ravenscourt Park, in Hammersmith, is just ceasing to be a middle-class residential suburb; a few large houses with large gardens remain, but are being replaced by working-class streets.

Poverty Areas.—Kensal New Town, 'light-blue,' in the North (*vide* p. 138); a small block of very rough poor connected with the gas-works, near the Marylebone infirmary; poor (light-blue) found principally in mews in Kensington Park; a little block of old village poverty connected with workers in the brickfields in the Tobin Street area, known as the Potteries District; and vicious poverty in the Bangor Street area in Notting Dale (*vide* pp. 151 and 191); 'laundry' poverty in the district round Bramley Road, and in Starch Green; and patches of old village poverty connected with costers and labourers and riverside workers in Hammersmith, near the river bank. In 1899 there was a tendency for all this western area to become a refuge for the destitute. Owing to its distance from inner London it was not at that time a popular district for artisans, but the opening of the Central London Railway and the advent of electric trams have completely altered its outlook as a place of residence for the 'pink' classes, and the probability is that the poorer areas will now cease to increase.

Employments.—Skilled artisans and clerks in Queen's Park: business managers and clerks in Kensington Park: artisans, labourers and clerks in Shepherd's Bush and Hammersmith. There are also a considerable number of domestic servants. The poorest are builders' labourers, costers, Italian ice-cream vendors, horse-keepers, car washers, and casuals. There are large 'bus yards in the district. For women the staple industry is laundry work. The great centres of employment are the Great Western Railway and the gasworks in the North: the generating station of the Central London Railway in the centre, and a few engineering firms and metal-workers in Hammersmith. The new tramways have given a great impetus to the building trade.

Housing and Rents.—The houses round the rim of the 'yellow' area were built for tenancy by the middle servant-keeping classes: the

older houses are of three and four storeys and were intended for one family only. The middle classes are moving away: the comfortable 'pink' classes who come in occupy, in the first place, all the available small houses, leaving the larger houses to the poor: in consequence we find in this, as in the former map, that houses built for the middle-classes are now tenanted by the poor. The larger houses have been converted into poor tenements as well as into flats.

On the Queen's Park Estate in the north of the map (pink), the houses have two storeys, are built of mixed red and yellow brick; have small backyards, and small fronts enclosed by low iron rails on a low brick wall; are rented at 8*s* 6*d* for four rooms and a kitchen (1899); the streets are broad and the side walks have trees at intervals; there is great competition for these houses among artisans, clerks, police and postmen.

In the vicious Notting Dale area the charge for a furnished room is 9*d* per night or 5*s* per week.

In the new streets in Shepherd's Bush where lodgers are usual and a servant sometimes kept (pink-barred with red), the houses were in 1899 being sold out-right on a ninety-nine years' lease for £360.

Of servant-keeping streets which are losing caste one may be mentioned in St. Matthew's parish, near Addison Road station, where houses which used to fetch £120 a year now bring in £70, while others are converted into flats and lodging-houses, and some have two families. Rents in 1899 were beginning to rise in Hammersmith and Shepherd's Bush owing to the prospect of Electric trams and the Central London Railway.

Markets.—Harrow Road in the North, Portobello Road, Uxbridge Road near Shepherd's Bush Station, and King Street, Hammersmith. The last is the largest and most frequented: respectable well-dressed buyers (*vide* p. 192): none of the shouting of the East End market-street.

Public-houses.—'Off' licences for beer in jugs predominate in the comfortable working-class area to the north of the map. In Kensal New Town there is a large admixture of beer-houses and public-houses. South of the railway, 'jug' licences are again to the fore. The rich districts round Ladbroke Grove and Holland Park have few licensed houses, but Notting Dale and Norland Town are well supplied: here, as elsewhere, poor and old districts can be traced by the number of beerhouses in them. In Shepherd's Bush and Hammersmith licensed houses are noticeable only in the main streets, such as Uxbridge Road, Goldhawk Road, Askew Road and King Street; King Street being particularly well supplied with licences of all kinds. Grocers' licences are found chiefly in these roads, their frequency being one of the surest signs of a shopping or market street.

Places of Amusement.—North of the Uxbridge Road places of amusement are practically absent, though there are fairly good local theatres just outside the eastern borders of the map in the Harrow Road and Uxbridge Road. Hammersmith has two theatres, one of which is spoken of as 'a little gold mine,' and is much frequented; the prices of admission being gallery, 6*d* (9*d* early door); front pit seats, 1*s* 6*d*, back, 1*s*, dress circle, 2*s* and 2*s* 6*d*. Olympia, near Addison Road Station, attracts large crowds, but is not open all the year round.

Open Spaces are plentiful. On the West there is Wormwood Scrubbs and Little Wormwood Scrubbs; in the South, Shepherd's Bush Common, Brook Green and Ravenscourt Park. Additional air space is given by Kensal Green Cemetery and the Great Western Railway cricket ground in the North, by the private squares and Holland Park in the centre, and by the playground of St. Paul's School and the river in the

South. Outside the western border of the map the ground is still, for a short distance, unbuilt upon.

Health is good in both Kensington and Hammersmith generally though there are particular areas where much complaint is made.

In the Portobello Road district health is spoken of as 'notoriously bad. In the Notting Dale area the death-rate was three times as high as that for Kensington as a whole. Round Latimer Road there is 'always something of a zymotic character about': and in the laundry district round Stamford Brook there are complaints of bad drainage and diphtheria.

The ground is high in the 'yellow' districts round Ladbroke Grove and Holland Park, the soil being here London clay. The remainder of the district lies low, and the soil is chiefly brick earth north of the Hammersmith Road and gravel and sand south of it.

Changes in Population.—Buoyant expansion (though outside the London boundary) in the Queen's Park District, where the new two-storeyed houses exactly suit the needs of a fairly comfortable artisan class: further South there is hesitation, the middle classes for whom the houses were intended preferring the new flats in more central London. In Shepherd's Bush and Hammersmith there was fear of decay until the electric railway and tramways gave new life to the whole district by connecting it with inner London. The poor parts of Kensal New Town, North Kensington and Norland Town have an unenviable metropolitan reputation, and tend to become poorer and more vicious by the gradual drift into them of those turned out of the slum areas of the Strand district and Marylebone. The main change in Shepherd's Bush and Hammersmith has been from a few well-to-do, with small colonies of poor, to a large number of fairly comfortable.

Means of Locomotion.—The London and North Western Railway at Queen's Park; and the Great Western Railway at Westbourne Park, tap the northern part of the district: besides these there is the West London Junction Railway, running from Willesden and crossing the river into Battersea and Clapham. Paddington is also joined with Hammersmith by a railway which is continued westwards towards Hounslow. The advent of the London United Tramways with their connection with the Central London Railway at Shepherd's Bush and the District Railway at Hammersmith has led to a very large increase of traffic both into and through the district. Uxbridge Road and Hammersmith Broadway at the junction of the systems are becoming like the Elephant and Castle in South London.

Tube connection eastwards is badly wanted from the Broadway along the southern side of the Park.

PLACES OF WORSHIP.

List of Parish Churches situated in the district described in Part II., Chapters III. and IV., with other PLACES OF WORSHIP grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes.

All Saints, Fulham.
Fulham Gospel Hall, 92, High St.

All Saints, Notting Hill.
St. Columba, Lancaster Road.
Trinity Presb. Ch., Kensington Park Rd.
Kensington Hall (Presb.), Kensington Park Rd.
Talbot Tabernacle, Talbot Rd.
Salv. Army Hall, Portobello Rd.
Cornwall Hall, 124A, Cornwall Rd.
Ladbroke Hall, Ladbroke Grove.

All Souls, Harlesden.
(The church and the greater part of this parish are outside London.)

Christ Church, Notting Hill.
Cong. Ch., Golborne Road.
Brethren's Miss. Room, 61, St. Ervan's Rd.

Emmanuel, Harrow Road.
Emmanuel Miss. House, Woodfield Rd.
Ch. of Our Lady of Lourdes (R. C.), Harrow Rd.

Holy Innocents, Hammersmith.
Albion Cong. Ch., Dalling Rd.
Prim. Meth. Ch., Dalling Rd.
Salv. Army Hall, Redmore Rd.

Holy Trinity, Notting Hill.
Latimer Rd. Miss., Blechynden St.

St. Alban, Fulham.
St. Alban's Miss., John St.
Prim. Meth. Ch., Bayonne Rd.
Tasso Tabernacle, Greyhound Rd.

St. Andrew, Fulham.
St. Andrew's Hall, May Street.
Cong. Ch., Castletown Road.
Bethel (Meth. New Conn.) Chapel, North End Rd.
Mission Room, Fane St.
North End Gospel Hall, Archel Rd.

St. Andrew and St. Philip, Up. Westbourne Park.
Bapt. Miss., Bosworth Road.
Park Hall (Brethren), 127, Kensal Rd.
Railway Miss., 92, Kensal Rd.
Open Air Gospel Miss., 21, Kensal Rd.
Our Lady of the Holy Souls (R. C.), Bosworth Rd.

St. Augustine, Fulham.
St. Augustine's Miss., 247, Lillie Rd.
Salv. Army Hall, Dawes Road.
L.C. Miss. Room, 289, Lillie Rd.
Railway Miss., Lillie Rd.

St. Clement, Fulham Pal. Rd.
St. Clement's Ch. House, 131-3, Fulham Palace Rd.
Ebenezer Bapt. Ch., Lillie Rd.
Twyholm Hall, Lillie Rd.
L. C. Miss. Hall, 80, Greyhound Rd.

St. Clement, Notting Hill.
St. Clement's Miss., Mary Place.
St. Agnes' Miss., 48-50, Latimer Rd.
Notting Dale Cong. Ch., Walmer Rd.
People's Hall (Cong.), Olaf St.
Prim. Meth. Ch., Fowell St.

St. Dionis, Parson's Green.
Church of Christ, Munster Rd.
Parson's Green Miss., Rectory Rd.
Gospel Hall, 4, Parson's Green.
Holy Cross (R.C.), Ashington Rd.

St. Etheldreda, Fulham.

St. Helen, St. Quintin's Pk.
Jubilee Hall (L. C. M.), Latimer Rd.
Bible Miss., 1, Walmer Road.

St. James, Moore Park.
L. C. Miss., Cornwall Street.
Eelbrook Miss. (L. C. M.), Imperial Rd.

St. James, Norlands.
St. Gabriel, Clifton Street.
Good Shepherd Mis., Sirdar Rd.
West London Tabernacle, St. James's Sq.
Salv. A. Barracks, Queen's Rd.

St. John, Kensal Green.
St. Peter's Ch., Ponsar Rd.
*West London Brotherhood Ch. (Cong.), 593, Harrow Rd.
Presb. Ch., Kenmont Gardens.
Kenmont Miss., Kenmont Gdns.
(Part of this parish is outside the London boundary.)

St. John, Walham Green.
Good Shepherd Miss., Walham Avenue.
Cong. Ch., Dawes Road.
Bapt. Ch., Dawes Road.
Wesl. Ch., Fulham Road.
German Wesl. Ch., Eustace Rd.
Wesl. Miss., Cassidy Rd.
U.Meth.F. Ch., Walham Grove.
Barclay Hall (L.C.M.), Effie Rd.
Gospel Hall, Farm Lane.

St. John Evangelist, Hammersmith.
St. John's Hall, Iffley Road.
Undenomin. Ch., Avenue Rd.
L. C. Miss. Hall, Mansion House St.
Gospel Hall, 39, Overstone Rd.
Raper Tem. Hall, Cambridge Rd.

Now closed (1902).

St. Jude, Kensal Green.
St. Jude's Institute, Ilbert St.
Queen's Park Cong. Ch., Harrow Rd.
Prim. Meth. Ch., Kilburn Lane.
Salv.A. Barracks, Lancefield St.
Hope Gospel Hall, Kilburn Lane.
Queen's Park Tabernacle, Herries St.

St. Luke, Kilburn.
(Part of this parish is outside London.)

St. Luke, Hammersmith.
St. Luke's Hall, Hadyn Pk. Rd.
Oakland's Cong. Ch., Uxbridge Rd.
Bapt. Tabernacle, Uxbridge Rd.
Salv.A. Barracks, Hadyn Pk. Rd.
Victoria Hall, Becklow Road.

St. Mark, Notting Hill.
St. Mark's Miss., Chapel Road.
Ladbroke Grove Bapt. Ch., Cornwall Rd.
Wesl. Ch., Lancaster Road.

St. Mary, Hammersmith Rd.
St. Mary's Miss., North End Rd.
Ebenezer Ch. (U. Meth. Free Ch.), North End Rd.

St. Mary, Stamford Brook.
St. Mary's Miss., Goodwin Rd.
Cong. Miss., Askew Road.
Wesl. Ch., Askew Road.
Presb. Ch., Goldhawk Road.
St. Stephen's (R.C.), Rylett Rd.

St. Matthew, Wandsworth Bridge Rd.
St. Michael's Church, Town Mead Rd.
St. Matthew's Miss., Broughton Rd.
Prim. Meth. Chapel, Wandsworth Bridge Rd.
Noel Hall (Salv. A.), Bullow Rd.
Miss. Hall, Ismailia Road.

St. Matthew, W. Kensington.
Christ Church, Blythe Road.
Wesl. Ch., Shepherd's Bush Rd.
Wesl. Miss., 77, Blythe Road.
Hammersmith and W. Kensington Synagogue, Brook Green.

St. Michael and All Angels, Notting Hill.
St. Martin's Miss., Rackham St.
L. C. Miss., Edinburgh Road.
Talbot Hall Miss., 363, Portobello Rd.

St. Oswald, Lillie Road.
L.C. Miss., 39, St. Oswald's Rd.
L. C. Miss., Estcourt Road.

St. Paul, Hammersmith.
Broadway Cong. Ch., Brook Green Rd.
Union Court Hall (Brethren), Union Court.
Friends' Meet. Ho., Lower Mall.
Holy Trinity (R. C.), Brook Green.

St. Peter, Fulham.
Wesl. Ch., Fulham Road.
St. Thomas (R.C.), Rylston Rd.

St. Peter, Hammersmith.
St. Peter's Miss., South Street.
West End Bapt. Ch., King St.
Riverscourt Wesl. Ch., King St.
Salv. A. Barracks, Waterloo St.

St. Saviour, Starch Green.
*St. Saviour's Miss., Gayford Rd.

St. Simon, Saltram Crescent.
Trinity Wesl. Ch., Fernhead Rd.

St. Simon, Shepherd's Bush.
Bapt. Tabernacle, Shepherd's Bush Rd.

St. Stephen, Uxbridge Road.
L. C. Miss., Railway Approach.

St. Thomas, Kensal Town.
Wesl. Ch., Kensal Road.
U. Meth. Free Ch., Middle Row.
L. C. Miss., 211, Kensal Road.
Gospel Hall, 287, Kensal Road.

St. Thomas, Shepherd's Bush.

* Now closed (1902).

Lowest Class

Very Poor

Moderate Poverty

Poverty & Comfort (mixed)

Fairly Comfortable

Well to-do

Wealthy

Combined colouring (as Pink and Red) indicates a mixture of the Classes which the Colours represent.

CHAPTER IV

THE OUTER WEST (CONTINUED)

§ 1

SHEPHERD'S BUSH AND HAMMERSMITH

Between the Uxbridge Road and Wormwood Scrubbs there lies quite a large tract of land available for building, and as yet unbuilt upon; forming the only really considerable space of the kind within the boundaries of London north of the Thames. The next largest, that in Fulham, is also included in the present chapter; and we are again forced to look forward to what may come, in the light of what has come, and actually does exist, in the adjoining areas of Kensal Town and Notting Dale. But before pursuing this subject further and considering the needs of those for whom the houses are not yet built, it will be convenient to run through the parishes which lie between these two areas of open ground and see how far the physical and spiritual needs of their present inhabitants are met.

The first parish we come to (St. Stephen) is one of those which has lost the suburban well-to-do class and may perhaps lose the ordinary middle class also, unless the latter should be retained by the advantages resulting from the opening of the Central London Railway. So far, there are few poor, but in the

offertory gold gives way to silver, and silver to copper. By means of the day schools and Sunday schools the clergy get to know both children and parents, but in the church itself, the working-class is practically unrepresented, and indifference to church matters is spreading, the clergy say, in the class above. Of this, Sunday bicycling is said to be 'a symptom rather than a cause. It only makes neglect easier.' The service of the church is High, and the music beautifully given. But it is mainly women and children who attend. There are clubs for men and boys which exercise a humanizing but, admittedly, no religious influence. Variety entertainments are held with the same aim. From the adjoining parish we have a similar account: 'all the best people leaving; pew-rents falling;' but here there are two distinct classes more definitely dealt with, resulting in two distinct congregations: the pew-rented portion of the church filling in the morning and the free side in the evening. The secularization of Sunday is felt in the difficulty of obtaining workers even more than in the reduction of congregation; and beyond this, in the demoralization which results from pleasure and excitement. Here, too, an attempt is made to meet the trouble homœopathically by entertainments. The religious work is not unsuccessful; the congregations are very fair as to numbers and include all classes. But, nevertheless, the reports are gloomy reading. The tide is flowing against the Church.

From parish to parish we meet the same story: A process of decay, long going on and now proceeding rapidly; family after family moving out; workers difficult to find; present population friendly, but indifferent, just above district visiting level; no neighbourliness; working class portion ignoring church services, and so on; and usually we find the same rather desperate resort to comic entertain-

ments, with animated pictures, step and clog dancing, solos on the bones and other attractions, provided as items of parish organization.

Yet it should be said that the impression gained from visiting these churches as to the genuine religious value of their work, is more favourable than that given by the clergy, so far as they have been seen. And this is not of common occurrence.

The services are moderately High and the church buildings more than usually commodious and beautiful. Most are finished in brick, inside and out, with high-pitched roof over the nave, and wide aisles. A good deal of money must have been spent on them. The internal decorations depend partly on the character of the ritual. The style of architecture adopted undoubtedly requires something to relieve the rather chilly perfection of the builders' work, and this the banners and pictures connected with High Church ceremonial do, to some extent, supply.

With a proportion of the middle class in this population the Congregationalists are very successful. They identify themselves with Liberal and Progressive party politics, and in religion are ranged against priestly doctrines. Large congregations gather, especially in the evening; but the working classes do not come, and the mission service for the poor of Starch Green is of no avail. They come if tea is provided. For their own people there is a literary society and lectures are given. The work is certainly successful in its way, and yet, once again, the report is rather gloomy.

For the Wesleyans also, the district is not unfavourable, and they have two very smart-looking congregations. We are told that half of those who attend are Wesleyans born and bred, and the rest mostly drawn from other Nonconformist bodies. Very few come from the great outside indifferent population, and the open-air services conducted by the young

people of one of these churches for the neighbouring poor are seemingly quite futile.

The Baptists are not yet fully above the ground in this neighbourhood. They have two churches, to both of which access is obtained by stepping down from the level of the street. Both look forward to the building of a proper tabernacle, with schools below and church above. The temporary structure occupied by the Shepherd's Bush congregation is at present fully large enough. The bulk of those who attend are tradesmen drawn from round about, with a sprinkling of retired servants and some artisans. The other body, that in Hammersmith, used at first a small iron building, but is now accommodated in the basement of the tabernacle that is to be, which is roofed over in some fashion, and into which one descends as into a catacomb. This congregation includes a fair proportion of working men, and great confidence is expressed that, given a good building, it could be filled. It is, indeed, not improbable that as the population changes this Church may wax while others wane, but, all told, the number of its adherents is at present small.

An Undenominational Nonconformist church, a small Salvation Army barrack, and a Church of England Evangelical Mission, started to oppose the prevailing Ritualism of the parish churches, complete the religious equipment of the northern part of this locality.

It is a district of which the marked characteristic at the present time is transition. It contains a considerable amount of poverty, especially in the neighbourhood of Starch Green, and here and there the beginning of something worse, as in Southbrook Street and Leffern Road ; but there is nothing yet past preventive cure ; there are no hopeless slums which call for destruction.

To the south of Goldhawk Road we have a varied

district; including well sustained middle class round about Ravenscourt Park, and again near Brook Green, many being attracted by the neighbourhood of St. Paul's and some other endowed schools; then a rush of metropolitan life in Hammersmith Broadway; and strange patches of old water-side poverty down by the Thames. There is here much that is old, and there are comparatively few signs of change; nor, with one exception, is there much of interest to note as to the churches and their congregations. The middle classes, for the most part, attend some place of worship. Wesleyan and Baptist and Congregationalist Churches stand close together in King Street West and Dalling Road. Morning and evening the churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John, are fairly, or even well, filled. There are no failures, but it is only at the Church of the Holy Innocents that exceptional success has been achieved. Situated on the edge of the middle-class Ravenscourt Estate this church draws also from the poor and working-class district at its back, and perhaps from further afield, for the services and the methods adopted are those of the High Church. The great gathering of all classes and both sexes which this congregation presents is the most noteworthy feature and even a surprising fact in the religious life of Hammersmith. As with the Baptists and their Tabernacle of Hope, so here, too, at Holy Innocents, the church, beautiful and even commodious as it is, is only a fragment of the great building which is boldly planned.

In the poor patch south of King Street, the Salvation Army has built a 'Citadel' and established a corps which is probably the strongest in West London.

§ 2

FULHAM

The parish of St. Mary, West Kensington, is practically a portion of Hammersmith. It shares in the advantages offered by the neighbourhood of St. Paul's School, which attracts as residents the parents of boys who obtain their education there, and is the home of not a few 'poor proud people, who would live in Kensington if they could afford it.' It has suffered under the wide deterioration and even, as many say, demoralization traced to shows at Olympia and exhibitions at Earl's Court. The church, a large basilica, has a good middle-class congregation. The working classes, as usual, hold aloof, and no special efforts are made to reach them.

The true Fulham lies south of the District Railway line, a locality hardly less inaccessible than the corresponding loop of the river at the Isle of Dogs. Like the Isle of Dogs, it consists of low lying land encompassed by the river, but in the place of a fringe of streets and houses with docks and open space in the middle, we have here a central group of houses, with open fields still available for building (or for a public garden) stretching down to the banks of the Thames. These fields are now being rapidly built upon. Nowhere else within the London boundary north of the Thames has population increased in recent years so fast as here, and the movement continues.

At the same time nowhere, perhaps, is religious effort more active. Both with Church and Dissent, there is the same character of hopeful confidence in the work and in the people. This may be partly due to the fact that all are new together. The building of the churches has accompanied, if it has not even preceded, the building of the streets. The buoyant tone is marked. One of those we have seen,

a churchman, is happy in recognising the good moral and social effect of the great facilities for enjoyment afforded, and holds that 'nothing but what is sinful is secular.' Another, a Congregationalist, speaking of the bright prospect of his church, says his people are never despondent and are 'ready to live and die for it.' An actively managed mission church, with an honorary evangelist, which has made of its smart coffee tavern a paying concern, in an extraordinarily blatant report, rejoices that by its example it can demonstrate 'the non-sacerdotal, self-governing, self-edifying and self-supporting character of the primitive Church.' A missionary, who has worked here for fifteen years and has watched the growth of the district and the increasing stability of the population, prides himself on filling his hall without 'attractions,' nothing of the kind being needed. A Methodist, who in politics throws in his lot with the Progressives, recognising in their work the application of the Christian spirit and of Christian principles to public affairs, feels as to his own work the natural confidence of a man who, subject to the disadvantage of continuous migrations, has already filled his chapel twice over. A little family tabernacle—of which the committee includes two dustmen, three cabmen, three bakers'-barrowmen and a coster; of which the church secretary is the foreman of the barrowmen; and the only well-to-do members are a cabmaster and the lady who owns the bakery—this little tabernacle, with overflowing life, aims at nothing less than the union of Christendom in apostolic faith, and meanwhile throws itself, heart and soul, into progressive politics.

A similar note of confidence sounds from St. Augustine's Mission, which is rapidly becoming a parish. The method adopted here is not that of securing the middle class to evangelize the poor, but rather of seeking support from among the upper section of the working classes themselves. Again social questions

come to the front, and again the boundaries of Church action are opened wide; art and music, literature and natural science are invoked, together with civic enthusiasm, in support of morality and religion. The inspiration from within has so far touched the outer world that money has been forthcoming, and now a large and beautiful church has sprung up alongside the mission hall. But can such a church be filled?

Love of the people, and confidence in them, is the key-note in every case. A High Church mission, serving a district which has now become a parish, took up the work in a less popular spirit, and met with rough hostility. But all that has passed. Missiles are no longer thrown when services are held in the street; large audiences, we are told, now listen with reverence and attention; and if the vicar has something that he particularly wishes to be heard, he says it in the open air.

This hopeful and happy condition of things (which applies to the western rather than to the eastern parts of Fulham) reaches its climax with St. Etheldreda, where a great fragment of a cathedral, with long aisle and vaulted roof, placed amid fields, confronts the new-made streets.

There are, indeed, some even on the west side who speak with less satisfaction of their work. The instability arising from frequent removals, for instance, is greatly felt. Families shift to another and a fresher house, with as little hesitation as rooms are changed at an hotel. A new house is thought no more of than a new suit of clothes. The change commonly involves a change of parish. This is regarded by one of the clergy as a chief cause of the lack of religious observance; while in another parish the people, though well spoken of, are thought to be difficult to reach for this same reason. The parochial tie is disregarded. Some, it is said, alternate church

with chapel going, while many others avoid religious obligation altogether. In these cases it would seem that the mark has not quite been hit by the churches. But throughout this portion of the district, even more than in Hammersmith, the appearance of the congregations bears out the more buoyant impression. They have everywhere a genuine religious aspect, as though the people cared for the Church as well as the Church for the people.

But on the eastern side, Fulham is unsatisfactory from whatever point of view it is regarded. It is one of the dumping grounds of London, and threatens to become a new criminal quarter.

St. Oswald's Mission, after a struggling and unsuccessful existence in a temporary iron church, has now attained to the dignity of a proper building, to which High ritual attracts a considerable congregation ; St. John's, too, where the ritual is also High, is fairly well filled ; but the bulk of the population is untouched, and special mission work among the poor is as usual very unsatisfactory. The working classes are indifferent, and the poor rough and not easy to deal with.

There are also many prostitutes and loose women living here and in St. James's parish, a feature for which the exhibitions are blamed, although the evil is partly an overflow from the adjoining parish of St. Luke's, to the east of the railway, and in reality more connected with Piccadilly than with Earl's Court.

For rough poverty and crime, things become worse as we go further South, and reach their greatest depth in Langford Road. 'Drunken, lazy, vicious, rough, as bad as any there used to be in the low streets off Drury Lane. The police must come in force if they want to take a man.' 'In a place like this it is seen that the worst are quite as bad as ever they were. If they are not the same men, they have the same names

as the characters who made Parker Street (Drury Lane) notorious.' So run our notes on this street.

On either side of Wandsworth Bridge Road, which is becoming a busy thoroughfare, streets are fast springing into existence, and are occupied before the houses are dry, and while the roadway is still unmade. Not all the houses are badly built, nor are all the occupants of doubtful character, but many of them are; and this is so especially to the east side of the road and towards the river side. Here it is said that the people are poorer than they look. They make as good an outward show as they can, but live by their wits: 'cheats, betting touts, forgers, and confidence trick men,' are all to be found here. Thus, with houses badly built and badly tenanted, tenants coming and going and every change a change for the worse, we have here the beginning of a black area.

The Church is not inactive by any means. It is, indeed, beforehand in its efforts to meet the situation. Besides the mother church, there are two mission churches belonging to the parish, one a small, neatly finished iron building at the entrance to Langford Road; the other, beautifully constructed of brick, situated in Townmead Road. This road, the clergy say, 'was a slum from the start.' The whole parish has to be worked like a mission, and a good many adult confirmations are counted; 'sixteen last year, twenty this;' and as always with religious work of this kind, when people come in at all they do so completely. It is all or nothing, and many are 'splendidly devoted.'

§ 3

LOCAL GOVERNMENT—HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM

The twenty years from 1871 to 1891, and more particularly the last ten of these, mark the greatest period of Fulham's development. Within this time the population increased fourfold, and between 1881 and 1891 more than seven thousand working-class houses were erected in the parish.* As is not unusual in outlying districts, the sanitary authorities seem to have been quite unprepared for so rapid an expansion, and totally unequal to the demands made upon their resources. The district surveyor, who represented the central authority in matters of building construction, had an enormous district under his charge, and is reported as having been old and past his work; the local staff, which was then responsible for the combined parishes of Hammersmith and Fulham, was quite ridiculously undermanned, whilst the law was admittedly antiquated and inadequate. All this has been altered now: the district has been cut in half; two district surveyors give their whole time where one man only gave a portion; the sanitary staff has been quadrupled; the law greatly strengthened, though even now, as it is thought, not so drastic as it might be; and side by side with these changes, there has arisen a body of representatives much more alive to the necessity of efficient supervision in house construction. But the delay has been well nigh fatal to the good character of the district; for whilst the authorities have been setting their affairs in order, many hundreds of houses have been erected in a manner which never should have been allowed, and even now not all is done that might be to check the jerry builder. At the date of our inquiry (1899)

* The census figures for 1901 show that the increase still continues, though at a much less rapid rate.

the sanitary staff was still insufficient in the opinion both of the vestry's medical officer, and of the medical inspector of the London County Council.

This inspector, reporting in 1896 on the condition of the district, notes as a marked feature the inferior character of the building which has taken place in some parts, and states that houses only recently built had become defective, owing to the doubtful quality of the material used in their construction and to bad workmanship. He recognised that 'much work had been carried out by the Health Department, for the remedying of insanitary conditions,' but reports that, notwithstanding this, over two-thirds of the houses visited by him were defective, and that there was in some instances considerable overcrowding. The local medical officer amply confirms these statements. Writing in 1898 (Annual Report for 1897), he observes "As bearing out what I have said in previous reports that 'houses are being erected in Fulham, in such a manner that it is almost certain that in a very few years they will be in a ruinous condition,' I may mention that I have recently represented to the sanitary authority under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, some houses which have only been built about four years, as being in a state so dangerous or injurious to health as to be unfit for habitation."

Elsewhere he speaks of the jerry builder as 'Fulham's worst trouble; it has a shocking lot of houses.' Since these reports were written, further zeal has been manifested, strengthened of late by the attitude of the new Borough Council. Builders have been prosecuted, and even in some instances compelled to pull the houses down; registration, inspection and regulation go steadily forward. Municipal energy has also been shown in the erection of baths and wash-houses, libraries and a dust destructor, and in the public installation of electric lighting; whilst, as

regards public recreation grounds, Bishop's Park has been extended northwards along the river bank, and a large area to the west of Wandsworth Bridge Road has been secured. Still, it must be long before Fulham recovers from the mistakes of the past.

The growth of Hammersmith, though very considerable, has been far less rapid than that of Fulham, and, on this account, and because the new houses have been built for a more affluent class, it has been more fortunate than Fulham in the matter of building. The late vestry, which only dated from 1886 (when Fulham and Hammersmith became separate sanitary areas), was generally efficient, and had developed a good deal of municipal energy, but in the opinion of most of our witnesses it was too regardful of 'vested interests.' The condition of some of the older property in the poorer parts would seem to bear this out.

In Shepherd's Bush and Wormwood Scrubbs there is, as already noted, a very large and completely vacant piece of land. Here, it is the future which presses upon us. Much of the ground is owned by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and is for sale. Undoubtedly purchasers will soon be found, and building will speedily be going forward. The London County Council have on hand a great building scheme, covering fifty acres of it, for which the price asked is £550 per acre, and seems reasonable.

I will not attempt to state the arguments for and against this particular scheme of the County Council. They may perhaps be very equally balanced. Nor do I wish at present to raise the larger question of the desirability or otherwise on general grounds of applying municipal enterprise to the building of houses for the people. But whether that course be well advised or not either in principle, or in this particular case, I do most heartily welcome the

interposition of the London County Council at this stage of affairs, and I hope that whether or not they buy the ground, the result may be to bring about the adoption of a well thought-out plan of development for this land, over which the population of London must shortly spread, and secure its careful supervision during execution.

I venture to hope also that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners may accept a liberal interpretation of their duties and responsibilities as great estate owners, recognising that they cannot wisely act on any narrow view of the interest of the fund for which they are trustees; since, especially as regards City property, their interests are in every sense bound up with the welfare of the people.

Great changes in regard to poor law administration have lately taken place in Hammersmith and Fulham. After a good deal of public agitation, the two parishes have been separated. Prior to this the guardians had inaugurated a scheme of workhouse classification, comfortably furnished wards being set apart for the 'aged and deserving,' and it is intended to develop this experiment further so soon as the removal of the Hammersmith poor affords the necessary room. The policy of the Fulham Board, as described by its chairman, 'is not to abolish out-relief, but to give it with due restriction in selected cases. The workhouse test is usually offered in doubtful cases, and relations are asked to repay when able.' The certified 'able-bodied' are sent to Kensington, and the uncertified, unless infirm and physically unfit, are, as usual, given occupation of some sort in the workshops —tailoring, shoemaking, baking, wood-chopping, matmaking, &c. The official figures denote some increase in the number of paupers, but this is quite small as compared to the increase of population.

§ 4

LONDON NORTH OF THE THAMES

At this point we may pause for a moment to survey the experiences yielded by the one half before attacking that other half of London which lies south of the Thames.

The picture we have drawn is crowded with sights and scenes, religious and social, yielding many tints and every degree of light and shade. Passing from East to West, upon the outer circle, it has been noted how each step westward brought in a further complexity of social conditions; first two, then three, then four, and finally five classes being involved. And on the inner circle we have found at each step different habits of life prevailing, and different nationalities coming into prominence. The floating population of Whitechapel, with its capacity for casual living, and the insistent Jew with his capacity for work; then the old established conditions of life in Bethnal Green and its easy going brutality, passing imperceptibly into the calculated criminality of Hoxton and the Italian picturesqueness of Saffron Hill; ending, as we circle round the City, in the deep-dyed poverty that still clings, in spite of clearances, to the neighbourhood of Drury Lane. All this followed by the multi-coloured life of Central London, with its whirl of pleasure seeking, including every shade from innocent enjoyment to utter depravity, and every grade to match among those who cater for these wants; leading us, on the one hand back to the City and the day dreams of business life; on the other to Imperial Westminster; and thence through the height of fashion and of wealth to the recurring problems of poverty, where London pushes onward and onward in the outskirts to the West.

In studying the influence of religion we have seen

how limited are the possibilities it presents, and how closely everywhere it follows the lines of class, similar conditions of life yielding similar results whatever the particular sect or whatever the special dogma preached may be. We have now to see what further contribution South London makes. Men and women remain the same, yet the dish—religious, social and political—has everywhere a somewhat different flavour.

I have regarded the impressions yielded by this inquiry, sometimes as a picture filled with varying life and colour, and now as a dish of various flavours, or, it might be better, as a banquet of many dishes each with its special flavour. But at other times it is as of a piece of music that I think of it, and then I seem to hear each individual part of the life of London joining in a mighty choral symphony. Into this chorus South London has now to pour her many voices.

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES. MAP O. (VOLUME III., PART II., CHAPTER IV.) Fulham.

Adjoining Maps—N. Outer-West (p. 162); E. Inner West (p. 136) and Battersea (Vol. V.); S. Wandsworth (Vol. V.).

General Character.—The map comprises the districts of West Kensington, Walham Green, Parson's Green and Fulham.

A few servants are kept in the streets near West Kensington Station and again in the 'apartment' streets off the Fulham Road and the King's Road, but in the main the whole district is working class, and the majority of the new streets are intended for working-class occupation. The general colouring of the map is pink, with patches of purple and light blue. There is one 'black' street in the south-east corner. Newness is the prevailing feature, both of the people and the houses. The exhibitions at Earl's Court attract many prostitutes to the neighbourhood of the North End Road, and the whole of that district is unsteadied by the seasonal influx which the exhibitions cause. A few large suburban houses remain, but they are rapidly disappearing and give place to rows of two-storeyed houses tenanted by young married couples and their families.

Poverty Areas.—There is old-established 'labouring' Irish poverty around Field Road and to a lesser extent off the Lillie Road. Near North End Road poverty is connected with the presence of a large number of cab and omnibus washers and horse-keepers and hangers on at the Earl's Court Exhibition, which has one of its main entrances in this road. Off the Fulham Road is a closely built block of 'Avenues' occupied by rough Irish labourers and costers and the lowest class of prostitute. The worst streets are those off Bagley's Lane, in the south-east corner of the map, which has received many of those turned out of the demolished courts round Drury Lane (*vide* p. 171). Old poverty in Fulham is connected mainly with small settlements of market-garden labourers, of whom many were Irish; new poverty is connected with the presence of large omnibus yards, gas-works, the exhibitions at Earl's Court, and the immigration of some of the poorest and worst characters from central London.

Employments.—Building, railway work at the District Railway's shops and sidings at Lillie Bridge, and omnibus work, are the main local industries. Many gas-workers live near the Chelsea border. A large number of clerks, theatrical people and artisans go by train to work in inner London. The poorest are market gardeners and the casual labourers connected with the above industries and with the exhibitions. For women there is much laundry work.

Housing and Rents.—There is still much open space available for building on the west and southern sides of Fulham. Houses are built for City workers on either side of the King's Road and Fulham Road, which are traversed by the District Railway: north and south of this area the new building is in the main for artisans.

The new houses built for clerks, foremen and managers are red-brick, of two storeys, with gables and a small balcony on the first floor; the front door has stained glass, and there is a small forecourt; they are fitted with electric bells and a bath-room. One family with a lodger is usual. The rent is about 16*s* a week. The working-class houses are two storeyed, of yellow brick, built for two families, rented at 14*s* per week or thereabouts; each floor has three rooms, and there is in addition a common scullery and washhouse. Fulham is suffering at the hands of speculative builders as a result of insufficient inspection. The 'purple' streets off the Town Mead Road in the south-east corner are flagrant instances of bad

building (*vide* p. 172). It is quite exceptional to find a family in one room; two or three rooms are the rule. Single rooms in poor streets may be had for *2s 6d* to *3s*, and two rooms for *4s* to *6s 6d*.

Market Streets.—North End Road is the only real market street in the district: it began to flourish when the costers' barrows were removed from the west end of the King's Road at the request of the shopkeepers. The main shopping streets are King's Road, Fulham Road and Lillie Road. The north-west end of Fulham shops in King Street, Hammersmith.

Public-houses.—North End Road, the east and west ends of the King's Road, and the Fulham Road, are fairly supplied with licensed houses of all kinds. Fully licensed houses are rare in the remainder of the district, their place being taken by 'grocers'' licences, 'jug' licences, and 'on or off' beer licences.

Places of Amusement.—Walham Green and Fulham have local theatres. In Summer there is the Earl's Court Exhibition. The whole district west of the North End Road and north of Fulham Road is one of unrelieved dulness.

Open Spaces.—The river runs round three sides of the district. Up to three years ago there was much open space in the shape of market gardens: some, but not much, still remains (1902). Eel Brook Common, Parson's Green, Bishop's Park, and a small recreation ground in the Lillie Road, are already open to the public; an extension of Bishop's Park northwards, known as Fielder's Meadow, and twenty-two acres, known as Southfields, off the west side of the Wandsworth Bridge Road, have been acquired, and will be opened when ready. Hammersmith Cemetery, Queen's Club grounds, the grounds of the Earl's Court Exhibition, and of the London Athletic Club, and those belonging to Hurlingham and Fulham Palace are private open spaces. A public open space is wanted as a playground for poor children off the north-west end of Palace Road. It is now or never as regards pegging out these claims for posterity: the very rapid development of districts like Fulham makes great demands on the purse of the public authorities, but money can scarcely be better spent in working-class districts than on open spaces.

Health.—The whole district lies low, but not below high-water mark. The soil is of gravel and sand, with a small band of brick earth by Eel Brook Common and Parson's Green, and some London clay in the south-east corner by Town Mead Road. The climate is relaxing, and adults, though not children, are said to suffer from it. The newness of the houses and the badness of some of the building and drainage give rise to 'throats' and some diphtheria.

Changes of Population.—The change has been from a few large houses surrounded by market gardens to innumerable small houses and disappearing market gardens. The new houses have attracted working-class residents from every part of London, chiefly young married couples. The streets round the King's Road have drawn some of the better residents from Chelsea. The inhabitants in the new streets change house very often; the change being from new to newer houses within the district.

Means of Locomotion.—There are only three roads eastwards out of the district, three to the North, two on the South, and none on the West: more are wanted and more still will be wanted as the district becomes fuller; another bridge over the Thames into Barnes will also become a necessity shortly. The whole district is hemmed in by railway lines and the river. The District Railway serves the northern part of the district as well as the

Parson's Green area in the South: the West London Junction Railway gives connection North and South to the eastern edge: there are no tramways: a slow service of omnibuses traverses the main roads.

New roads are wanted from inner London with quick electric tram or tube services continued across the river into Battersea, Putney and Barnes: and through services from North to South. West Cromwell Road might be continued over the railway westwards, and Lott's Road from Chelsea into the Town Mead Road district. An embankment round the whole peninsula would give a pleasant finish to roads which now have to end in a tidal swamp.

Note.—The names of the PLACES of WORSHIP in Fulham are included in the list for the Outer West (p. 160).

Lowest Class | Poor | Poverty | Comfort (mixed) | Comfortable | to-do | Wealthy

Combined colouring (as Pink and Red) indicates a mixture of the Classes which the Colours represent.

CHAPTER V

ILLUSTRATIONS

§ 1

WEST END NOTES

I WOULD repeat the warning that these extracts from our note-books must be regarded as illustrations only, and not as themselves proving anything.

(1) *The help of the rich.*

. . . . . The wealthy worshippers at a neighbouring church occasionally come to give an entertainment or concert to the mission-hall folk. On these occasions the carriage brings round wine and other refreshments, liquid and solid. Two of the class-rooms are set apart, one as a smoking room, the other as a ladies' retiring room, whilst, in a third, the refreshments are tastily arranged on side tables. At the interval they say to the missionary, 'Now you keep the people amused, talk to them or something:' and then they go upstairs and have a good time, with some of the mission people to wait on them, who see all that goes on, and next Sunday it is all over the mission. In the face of that, the missionary says, he can't ask the people to be abstainers: it seems like humbug . . . . .

(2) *Mothers' Meeting at Pear St. Mission, Westminster.*

The premises which this mission has used now for nearly seventy years were formerly those of the 'Green Man,' a somewhat notorious public-house in old West-

minster days. The structure remains much as it was; the lofty beer-cellar is used for a gymnasium. There is a large hall upstairs, seating three hundred persons, in which a very large mothers' meeting is held. When we called it was comfortably filled with the women sitting in groups. Around the back of the platform were rolls of calico, flannelette and other materials. A lady was reading a story aloud with dramatic effect, while another was moving about the room receiving money from the women, and now and again the reading was punctuated by the sharp sound of the tearing of calico. The women were clean and tidy, but evidently poor working women. The lady manager of this mission remarked that among those who are Christians there is hardly any poverty, and, reversing this, she had noted that a lazy person is scarcely ever converted. She had 'never known a really lazy person brought to the Lord.'

(3) *The Salvation Army, Regent Hall.*

. . . . . In their interpretation of the scheme of salvation, nothing seems to appeal to the Salvationists except the sin they see around them; and some do not shrink from participation in the judgment; looking forward not only to witnessing, but applauding, endorsing, concurring in (I do not know what word to use) the eternal damnation of the unsaved. During an address on this subject the speaker, after emphasizing the fact that '*all would be there*,' and enlarging on it, narrowed his references, 'You will be there,' with a wave towards the platform; 'how terrible for those whose name in that day will be written in the book of Death! *Then* Christ will be the judge; *to-night* he is the Saviour;' and as a Saviour was offered by the speaker. 'Yes, I shall be there, and my brother will be there'—as he said this he made another Salvationist stand beside him, and then followed the most awful exhibition of theological savagery when he said that they two would stand forth and bear witness that to every member of that audience the offer of salvation had been made. So that should the judgment of doom be pronounced, he reiterated—'Yes, *he* will be there and *I* shall be there to say AMEN to your sentence of E-tern-al Death.'

(4) *Brompton Oratory.*

Pending the completion of the new cathedral, the Oratory was the Roman Catholic church in London best adapted for grand ceremonial, and has often been borrowed for that purpose; but it has a very large congregation of its own, drawn from all classes. On Sunday morning there are six Masses with a total attendance of about three thousand. The largest congregation at any single service is in the evening, when many non-Catholics come, and it is the medium through which many converts reach the Church of Rome.

There are fifteen priests living at the Oratory, one of whom attends to the parish work of the district allotted, but the distinctive characteristics of the establishment are not parochial, the first object of the order, that of St. Philip of Neri, being to preach and provide the ministrations of the confessional. The Oratory is self-governing. The members do not take the customary vows of the religious orders and, so far from any vow of poverty, they have to be able to maintain themselves so as to be always free to leave. One of the fathers contributed £20,000 towards the cost of the present building, upon which in all about £130,000 has been spent. In addition to the great church, which can seat two thousand and, if crowded, holds three thousand, the buildings include the house and two schools. The house is planned on a spacious scale. There is a large refectory where the residents (priests and novices) dine in silence; a combination room where no wine is drunk and smoking is not allowed, but in which they talk together for half an hour after dinner; and a beautiful library. Each priest and novice has a private room—bed-room and study combined. There is a chapel called the Little Oratory, and a large club-room, and, behind all, is a large garden. All is spacious and dignified and regarded with affectionate pride.

(5) *Feeding the Poor at the Carmelite Church.*

. . . . . As we passed into Duke's Lane we saw a line of sixty-four tramps standing along the wall of the church waiting for their dinner. There is some foundation connected with this church, in accordance with which a dinner

has to be provided for all persons presenting themselves, every day except Sunday. The meal consists of soup and bread, but it must be a rather meagre allowance judging from the rapidity with which the recipients came out again after entering the building. Some come day after day.

(6) *Poor Children at a Roman Catholic School.*

. . . . . The great feature of the district is the number of children, due to the influx of poor. The schools have been flooded, and while others are being built, have overflowed into the church. The day schools are the most important: the Sunday school is mainly necessary to prevent the children going elsewhere. The schools were well ventilated, orderly and clean, and the children looked healthy and happy, especially the girls and infants, who seemed more 'class' than any except the elder ones among the boys. The word 'class' is used in a general way for what is superior. 'My father is not class,' said a six year old, 'he's always boozing.' There is a special language which prevails and changes from time to time; 'pinch,' which is the latest word for steal, having recently supplanted 'nick,' which had succeeded 'sneak,' to express the breach of the Fourth Commandment. The Sisters have to acquire the rudiments of this language and must put up with a great deal of filthy talk: the streets are terrible for this.

(7) *Servants.*

The manager of a Servants' Home and Mission, which is mainly supported by servants themselves, makes the following remarks on the position and difficulties of his clients:—The great evils of the life are drink and gambling or betting, mainly among the men. If women drink it is usually the cooks, and those who are fast are generally ladies' maids who have been with fast mistresses. Gambling and betting, as prevalent vices, are of recent growth. The troubles used to be rather drinking and loose life. Internal laxity of relations is not so great as might be imagined, but it is certainly true that whatever the cause of their fall, many servant girls do find their way on to the streets. As a class servants are less

illiterate than they used to be, but they afford a strange mixture of ignorance and information, their opportunities being so varied and exceptional. The effect of wealthy surroundings is rather to enervate than to embitter. As a class servants fail in after life; they lack grit and a sense of responsibility and thrift; but the best and most intelligent try to get out of service. They dislike the restraint and want more scope, and conscientious servants have often a bad time of it if they set their faces against dishonesty or drinking or waste in households where these things prevail. In the absence of right relationships between employers and employed service could not but be demoralizing, but not much was needed to humanize the relations; and, in regard to this, experience did not show that it was the professor of a Christian life that was likely to show most consideration. Many out-and-out worldly people treat their servants more humanely and kindly than those who are distinguished for philanthropy.

This witness also says that servants from institutions are less thrifty, responsible and 'gritty,' than those that come from ordinary artisan homes. 'Community life is not so helpful as home life.'

(8) *North Kensington Association of Friendly Workers among the Poor.*

This was the first branch established of this association and the only one reported to have any vitality, but, in common with the others we have seen, proves to be moribund (June, 1899). It seems to have been deserted by those who started it with such a flourish of trumpets, and now neither funds nor workers are forthcoming. The office closes for the summer months, and it is doubtful whether it will be re-opened. The failure, in this instance, is the greater in view of the fact that the district chosen has comparatively little poverty, and such as there is, not of the character which presents the most difficult problems. The really poor part of North Kensington is not included in this district.

An effort was made to galvanize some life into the association by connecting it with Mr. A. F. Hill's scheme for the unemployed, but life at the farm on a vegetarian

diet was not popular. A farm, too, it was discovered, is of little use except as a place of reclamation for the loafer: for the poor man temporarily out of work it is little good: painters, for example, have been urged to go there, but have pertinently urged that they cannot hope to obtain work at their trade if exiled to the country.

§ 2

HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM

(1) *Some Churches in Hammersmith.*

St. Thomas's is one of the many red-brick churches finished in brick work inside and out, with white columns and lean-to aisles. There is in it some nice glass, and the whole effect is good. The stations of the cross are represented in white bas-relief, not in tawdry pictures as is so often seen. A very pleasant church, with a good lower middle-class congregation. I heard a sermon on church-going and the Christian ideal, and how people were easily satisfied, thinking themselves 'good enough.' *St. Mary's*, Starch Green, is yet another of the perfect red-brick style of churches, in some ways the most perfect; irritatingly well-finished and untouched by time or love, just as it came from the builders' hands. But the proportions are good and the other things needed may be added perhaps. Both morning and evening there was a fair congregation, including working-class people. The Church of the *Holy Innocents* is the half of a very large church, from the apse to a temporary west end, leaving vacant ground towards the road. For the morning service it was remarkably full, with men on one side, or at least the rear portion of one side, for the women extended across the church in front. The men looked working class. The church is red-brick again, but on a larger scale, and decorated a good deal with religious pictures and with frescoes of the stations. The sermon was on the text 'I will arise and go to my

father'—ending with 'and he arose'; the point being that we had to do it as well as say we should. The preacher was a man with a big monk-like beard. He spoke easily and could be well heard. In the evening the church was crammed full of men and women; just 'the people.' The music was quite uninteresting. Those who attend are drawn thither by religious feeling.

St. Peter's is of quite a different pattern; a large ugly conventicle of a place with no decorations except a few marble mural tablets to commemorate the dead. There are deep galleries at each side, and at the west end above the entrance, supported on round plastered and painted columns, all devoid of architectural ornament. Here in the morning there was a scattered congregation listening to a remarkable sermon, of which the delivery was also remarkable, being very slow (perhaps to conquer a stammer), and with the strangest accent. The preacher held his audience. Every word was audible and effective. He was referring to the place that the expected second coming of the Lord had in the lives of the early Christians. He pointed out that they did not think so much of death as of this coming event, which was regarded by them as we regard death—sure, but we know not when. Christians, some heathen had said, were already citizens of another world.

(2) *St. Etheldreda's, Fulham.*

. . . . . The vicar has been his own clerk of the works, inspecting every brick and every nail, and almost his own architect. He hopes that his successors may complete the noble building which he has planned. The latest addition is the old bell of St. Michael's, Bassishaw, in the City, which he purchased for £10. 'I thought,' he said, 'that if the people heard the bell which has been ringing citizens of London to worship for three hundred years, it might do something to move the feeling of local patriotism and remind them that they were Londoners.' This was the point emphasized throughout our talk: the complete lack of traditions, cohesion, patriotism, in this new parish, with its mushroom growth.

This fragment of a cathedral consists of one very long stately aisle, with arched roof of stone. The apse

is lifted five feet above the floor of the church and is approached by two flights of steps, while little doors on each side, with a step or two down, lead to the part beneath. This is an old pagan plan which one meets occasionally in Italy.

The architectural effect is very simple and grand. The interior is bare—of a yellowish white, and the only decorations a few large banners of bright silk, and at back of the altar green and blue hangings; very harmonious in colour.

When I visited this church on Sunday, the choral service of the Mass was nearly over. The priest, in his fine vestment, far away at the end of the long building, looked like a shining beetle, as he manipulated the elements, turning now to the altar and now to the congregation. At either side stood or kneeled his assistants in white and red. The ritual seemed extremely High, but the congregation were expected to partake of the sacrament, and many of them did so.

The organ is at the side of the church, about a fourth or a third of its length from the altar, and as the choir sits there it divides the congregation in two parts. I noticed that all who communicated sat in the forward part, but not all who sat there communicated. I studied the congregation as they left the church. All classes were represented; the total about one hundred and fifty.

(3) *Lower middle class in Hammersmith.*

. . . . . Comfortable two-storeyed houses, some double-fronted, with gardens back and front, occupied by business people, some retired, some at work. Rents £45 and rates and taxes; not more than one servant kept. The working inhabitants go to business in the morning by 'bus or train. They fill a 'bus by themselves, meeting it in the main road; the conductor blows a horn at 8 o'clock, and off they go, returning between 6 and 7. Others go by train. The journey by 'bus to Liverpool Street costs 5*d*. Of these people the majority are chapel-goers.

§ 3

NOTTING DALE

(1) *Notes on housing by the Kensington Charity Organization Society.*

The housing of the poor is becoming a matter of very serious difficulty. The sanitary authorities are giving increased attention to overcrowding and insisting on more space. Increased accommodation means more rent, and rent is already a disproportionately heavy charge on the poor man's earnings and it is difficult to see how he is to afford to increase it. On the other hand, there is the growing disinclination in decent houses to take in large families, so that many fairly respectable families are driven into miserable quarters or into the workhouse by the difficulty of finding decent accommodation. 'Furnished lodgings' have greatly multiplied, and attract the lowest class of people from other parts of London. It is quite common for these people to come into the district with just enough money to pay their first night's lodging and to begin to beg next day. They are usually reckless of decency and respect for property, and unhesitatingly use any available furniture to light the fire, so that the landlords have some sort of excuse for the wretched rooms they let as 'furnished lodgings.' This part of the population is continually fluctuating; shifting from place to place. Most of the people displaced by demolitions in Lisson Grove appear to have migrated to Kensal Town.

(2) *Saturday night in the Bangor Street area and in King Street, Hammersmith.*

It was the Saturday in Holy Week, between 9.30 and 11.30. From Uxbridge Road up Prince's Road: street empty; no life; along St. Catherine's Road, asphalt messy, but not very dirty; most doors open, no light in any of the passages, figures standing about, young men and young women, some bare-armed women gossiping; occasional lights in upper windows; many windows open, although it was cold; no noise. Up St. Clement's Road, many children about; along Crescent Street, the beerhouse at the corner full: more women than men

inside; much talking but no drunkenness; hatless women, with white aprons, rough hair and bare arms, and with shawls round their shoulders. As they met the cold air coming out, two of them seemed first to realize that they had taken too much, and clutched at one another's shawls for support. Many women in the beerhouse in Crescent Street, and in those at either end of Bangor Street. Men here were coming home full, sullen, solitary, addressed by no one and speaking to no one. At St. Anne's Road and Latimer Road the first brawl, between a man and woman—both drunk, being kept apart and sent home with great tact by a policeman; the man would have gone quietly, but the woman would persist in calling him names. In St. Anne's Road three young women of laundry type, singing, arm-in-arm, reeling, noisily drunk; one with a small baby in her arms. Then into Norland Road, another woman drunk and noisy and a few men equally drunk, but quiet, lurching homewards; one woman, in a drunken torpor, sitting on the pavement propped against the wall. In this road there were shops and a few costers, but no demand except for winkles.

Into the Uxbridge Road, and then higher to Hammersmith Broadway, and west along King Street. This is the great market street of West London, tram-lines down centre, costers' barrows and kerbstone sellers. The street full from side to side with people—men, women and children; a few sightseers, but the majority buyers, well-to-do artisans and clerks with their families. More trade done with the shops than with the barrows: some demand for penny toys and sweets. Women, old and young, all had sweets obvious in their mouths. There was none of the shouting of the ordinary market street. Butchers were very busy, and hardly had time to cry 'Buy, buy, buy.' Fair meat sold from 4*d* a pound, scraps 3*d*; 6*d* a pound for joints. Fowls 1*s* 3*d* and 1*s* 6*d*. Watercress ½*d* per bundle. The quiet, the amount of business done, and the well-dressed appearance of the buyers were the main features. Everyone seemed to know exactly what they wanted and to get it. No noisy patent medicine quacks. After purchasing, one turn down the street and then home was the rule.

(3) *Bangor Street Area. Saturday Afternoon.*

. . . . . It was 4 p.m. and the people were standing about in the streets. A crowd of people were gathered at the corner of Sirdar Road. A row was in progress. The people of the immediate locality formed the group, those a short distance away did not concern themselves; a row was evidently no uncommon sight. In Kenley Street two buxom middle-aged women were dancing and singing a snatch of some song. Both were half drunk. We went into several of the houses and the noticeable fact was their cleanliness. Passages and floors clean, yards well kept, closets in good order. A great contrast to the common tenement houses of Whitechapel or Islington. The fronts of the houses are their worst part. Pointing to the peeled and cracked cement the sanitary inspector said, 'You cannot say that is unsanitary, it is only unsightly.'

(4) *Soup Kitchens in Notting Dale.*

All the churches and missions have a soup-kitchen in Winter. Tickets are given out in the schools. Opposite the end of Bangor Street there is one which was busy as we passed. There was a tail of children along the pavement, girls on one side and boys on the other, about thirty boys and forty girls waiting to get in. Inside, the place was full. The children are given bread and a thick vegetable soup. Some bring it away, and these have to pay a trifle. The children were waiting patiently, their faces were clean and their hair brushed, and they had clean, if ragged, pinafores; many hatless and boots not good, but all looked healthy: no sore eyes, well fed and sufficiently dressed; all chattering and happy, though it was a cold and windy day.

(5) *An exceptional London City Missionary and a round of visits.*

. . . . . That this young fellow, with the voice and manner of an actor, should be a City missionary was a surprise, and his ways of thought were as unexpected as his appearance. . . . . He admitted that his chief object was to press the humanitarian side of his work,

and that he had no belief in 'conversion.' . . . . . but he does devoted work in visiting, and the round we made with him gave a good insight into the character of a degraded district. There is no reason to suppose that the sights were in any way chosen, and indeed much of the experience was from the streets rather than the houses; but everywhere there was the trail of drink, gambling, and loose living.

The first case was that of a woman ill, and apparently dying of bronchitis: her husband, a wood-chopper, out of work, and there were three children, all living in one room. The woman looked decent, but had been a drunkard, the missionary said. The room was of the poorest description, papered, both ceiling and walls, with patches of all sorts of varying size from one to two square feet. A neighbour had come in to do the house work.

The next visit was to a house where the missionary had to take a hospital letter. Here living in one room were a drover, his wife and six children: the woman was out, two children were lying on the bed. The man, a huge, sheepish, good-natured looking yokel, was at home and fell under denunciation for his drunken habits, and when the missionary urged him to better things, he replied with a sort of sullen cheerfulness, 'Oh! I don't doubt your word, governor,' but evidently the word made no impression, and the good drover will probably continue to get drunk to the end of the chapter. His wife, however, has taken the pledge and kept it for some months.

We then spoke to a toothless old woman whose son was out, spending all his money as usual in drink, and 'she did not hold with it,' she said. Next a sallow, weedy, degenerate creature, limping along with a bandaged foot, to whom the missionary addressed himself, but in this case his words were met with ready chaff. So far from showing signs of repentance the man gloried in his frailty. He was never so happy as when drunk, and recalled the time when his 'farver' died and left him £200, which lasted 'free monfs'; there was something almost heroic in his unshaken conviction that for him at all events drink was the one thing in this world worth living for.

At the corner of one of the streets we came upon a group of six hulking lads playing pitch-and-toss, and the missionary seized the opportunity for another denunciation, and, turning to me, hoped that I should report the matter at Scotland Yard. The lads quailed at the idea of a detective, but for the missionary and his thunders cared not at all, clearly feeling that it was no business of his. Further on we came upon another similar group, and the missionary, jumping into the ring, seized a penny which was on the ground. This led to a scene. The owner, trembling and pallid with mingled fear and rage, removed his coat and squared up, using horrid language. He was, however, afraid to strike, and after some parley his penny was returned, and his game resumed as we passed on.

We ended by visiting two of the decent old widows, who are the only ones who really welcome the missionary.

CHAPTER VI

ILLUSTRATIONS GENERALLY APPLICABLE TO LONDON NORTH OF THE THAMES

§ 1

DESCRIPTIONS OF PARISH CLERGY, THEIR CHURCHES, AND THEIR WORK

No. 1. The vicar has been nearly twenty years in this parish. He is a shy-mannered man of antiquarian tastes and antiquarian dress; but, after an unpromising beginning, in which he took down headings of subjects to be inquired into, this slow and precise man finished by giving a much better description of his parish than can generally be obtained. He appears to give part of his time regularly to his antiquarian pursuits, but there is no sign that the parish is in the least neglected. For years he has never been away on a Sunday, and last year himself received the medal for never having been absent from his own Sunday school. The church is a large one, holding over fifteen hundred people. The congregations are fair, but not large for the church. A census taken some time back (but thought to be about right still) shows an attendance in the morning of four hundred and fifty adults and one hundred children, and in the evening about six hundred and fifty. It is a seat-rented church, the service moderately Evangelical, but very attractive from the excellence of the music. Many, he said, look askance because there is evening communion, but this does not make the vicar think it wrong. He argues that our Lord did the same.

No. 2. At this parish the vicar has held the incumbency for three years. The church, a magnificent building, was the work of private munificence. The late incumbent was a preacher, and began by filling it, but fell under charges of immorality which, though not proved, ruined both him and the church. He stood his ground, however, and only retired when an old man from the service of his empty and dilapidated church. He still lives. The story, as told us, sounds like obstinate innocence. When the present vicar came, the church was in such a condition that it was quite doubtful whether it were not best to pull it down and begin afresh. Since then thousands have been spent, and much yet remains to be done. The present vicar is a vigorous, kindly, and very broad-minded man: an enlightened Evangelical and a strong Churchman. He makes of no importance matters over which others contend. He does not himself value ritual, but he recognises that others do. If he found a church accustomed to candles or vestments, or what not, he would make no change, nor would he introduce such things where they did not already exist. At his church the congregation do not turn to the East in the Creed, though he would prefer that they should; but he has a surpliced choir, and makes the congregational music as good as he can. He has filled his church, and has gathered a body of some thirty young men who assist in welcoming and showing people to their seats; and no doubt he preaches effectively. There are lectures and classes, social evenings and teas; in fact, his relations to his flock are not unlike those of a Baptist minister. He is not too far above them socially; but, like them, is even the more removed from the quite poor, and on that account is thinking of securing a Church Army captain, 'who will blow a trumpet in the street,' to run the mission which has been established in the lower part of the parish.

No. 3. The vicar here is a man of extraordinary personal charm, and perhaps too sensitive to be successful in a poor middle-class parish. His opinions, some of which follow, show despondency, which is partly due to lack of funds. 'If we had more money,' he said, 'I believe we could do a good deal more. You might as well make

a man headmaster of a Board school and leave him to provide all his assistants, and then blame him for not producing great results, as expect much from us clergy, when we are eternally pre-occupied with how to pay our way.' The church is pew-rented, and although only £100 is produced they cannot afford to give the system up, though the vicar regards the 'subservience to a clique,' which prevails to a great extent in all such churches, as the chief reason for the failure to get a greater grip of the people. There is a mission service at the Hall on Sunday evening, which at present is badly attended. A late curate drew about two hundred of the poor to it, but with the present man they have dropped off. So far from being easy to please, this class are very *exigeant*, and will put up with nothing but good extempore preaching; and in this connection, the success of 'missions which are not missions, but only preaching,' was noticed, and the services at —— Hall were instanced as having drawn many away from his church. The various parish agencies here are open, without any religious tests, to all parishioners, and are never used for proselytizing purposes. 'I never ask anyone to come to church, and even if regular comers take to staying away I never ask them why, or attempt to retake them; I know I ought to, but I can't do it.' The failure of temperance organizations he attributed chiefly to the bigotry of extremists, and spoke with some disgust, not unmixed with amusement, of a great deal of the social activity of the Church generally; of the dull vulgarity of Band of Hope entertainments, of silly theatricals, and so on. The great work done is with his schools: day schools, which never fail to obtain the highest grant; and Sunday schools, with about one thousand on the books, and eight hundred in average attendance.

No. 4. The service at this church is Evangelical, even to the wearing of a black gown, but there is a good choir. As to the gown, the vicar thinks a surplice would look more cheerful, but 'does not care a dump' what he preaches in, and sticks to the black gown because the trustees and the whole congregation prefer it. But he does not fail to tell his people that such matters are utterly trivial when compared to the leading of a Christ-

like life. 'A good many Roman Catholics are better than their creed and will go to heaven, and lots of Evangelicals will go to hell,' he tells them. On the whole the people in the district are strongly Protestant and Evangelical and dislike ritual, and the bulk of those who attend the church are parishioners. But, still, a good many come from outside, some being those who remain attached although they have moved away, and others from neighbouring parishes who prefer his service or like his sermons. The Church clergy, he thinks, need to recognise frankly that the system in large towns is, and must be, more congregational than parochial. The Ritualists in this neighbourhood go to St. —— Church, and no effort is made to dissuade them, nor is any attempt made here to attract those connected with other churches or other sects. 'If the clergy would devote themselves to getting hold of those who go nowhere, instead of telling people they will be damned if they go elsewhere, the Church of England would be in a much better position.'

No. 5. The vicar here proved to be one of our surprises. He has a very tiny parish and we had hardly expected that he would have much to tell us, but he proved one of those rare men who say exactly what they think, and the interview became interesting and, perhaps, even important on that account. The church is built outside the parish borders, and its services have presumably no very intimate connection with the ecclesiastical district it is supposed to serve. The people who dwell in the district are almost exclusively working class, railway men, tram-men, &c. The congregation is middle class. The vicar has held the post for twenty years. When he came he was considered to be rather extreme as to ritual, but has now been left far behind. He has no paid choir, but the service is very musical. In his charities he himself takes no account of religious persuasion or church attendance, but is hampered in the work by others who do. The competition is general, and the effect on the people most demoralizing. In this matter he says the Churches are just as bad as the Chapels. He values district visiting highly, but declines to do visiting himself, lest it should be regarded as

'touting,' in order to get his church fuller than others. Such competition is 'all a miserable system of rivalry.' 'Things are on the wrong tack.' There is no co-operation. 'The clergy know nothing of each other, and care less.' 'The end will be disestablishment.'

No. 6. The vicar received us in his study, a pleasant room with books and pictures, a *prie-dieu* in one corner and a crucifix in the middle of the writing bureau, while the owner of the room seemed to masquerade there in cape and cassock with a girdle of thick black silken cord. He is a young man and has been in charge of the parish rather less than a year. He has had much to do and has been very successful. The work, which lies amongst a rapidly increasing and migratory population, is, in his view, the 'most hopeful imaginable.' 'The people are extraordinarily responsive, and he is able to command any help that he needs either in person or kind.' He appears to move in a friendly and unconventional way among the people, dropping in for a chat or a smoke, and counts as one of his friends an atheist with a Catholic wife.

No. 7. The vicar of a parish, half within and half beyond the London boundary, says there is more real poverty here than in Hoxton, where he was previously; the people look more respectable and are better clothed, but they are always worse fed than the costers and other rough inhabitants of Hoxton. As a class, too, they are more difficult to touch than the poor of Hoxton, where any visitor with decent tact is almost always kindly received; but here, as likely as not, especially in the new streets, you can never get more than the crack of the door open and an unfriendly answer that they 'will send for you if they want you.' People seem to bar themselves in, for fear of the bailiff or sheriff's officer. Altogether it is a most difficult parish to work.

No. 8. The population of this parish are almost exclusively working class, the men are mostly railway men, carmen, costers, and dock labourers. There is a good deal of home-work among women, such as the making of trousers and of match boxes. There is not much squalid poverty. Such as there is, mainly, is scattered and due to drink.

The vicar is one of the few clergy who confess to having frequently counted his congregation. In the

morning there are forty adults, twenty choir, and sixty children; in the evening two hundred adults and one hundred children. Not more than ten working men in the parish ever come to the church. The service is High Anglican, with good bright congregational singing, and attracts a few from an adjacent parish where the methods pursued are Evangelical and sleepy. But as a rule the people do not care a bit about doctrine, and hate ritual. An attempt to introduce a processional cross met with much opposition, in deference to which it was withdrawn. They are touchy and very ready to take offence, and will then threaten to 'go to Charrington's.' Some do go, but they usually come back. The vicar tells them to go where they please. He sketched the Sunday habits of his parishioners thus: 'The church bell, they say, wakes them: they get up, have breakfast, and adjourn to the public-house from 1 to 3; dine soon after 3; sleep, and either go to the public-house again in the evening or go to the park. The wife, if she has a decent man for her husband, is free to come to church in the evening if she likes.'

No. 9. . . . . After leaving the vicarage I had a look at the outside of the mission hall. It seemed a miserable place: one window of the ground-floor broken, and the door blistered and in sad need of paint. It may have been better inside, but it certainly gave the impression of being a very uncared-for *annexe* of the church. A woman in a neighbouring shop said the place was a great nuisance. Very discordant music used to be played inside, until stopped on complaint, and outside the children collect to batter against the palings and make a noise. But, as she said, 'the club keeps the lads together and has its use.' The club, the vicar had told us, is looked after by three or four young clerks, who are there nearly every evening.

No. 10. The eastern end of * * * * * * Church fronts the street, and the doors here, which give access direct to the chancel, are used for weddings. The road was strewn with confetti. But this side of the church is ill-kept; door hinges all rusty and no signs of life. Nor is the entrance from the other side much better, being through a rough wooden fence at some distance from the

church. But there was a fair congregation of working people, including many girls. The preacher, a young man, not the vicar, preached with great conviction on Pentecost and the unreality of our beliefs. If we really believed how different we should be and how different the world. He referred especially to belief in the Holy Ghost and its coming in power if we earnestly prayed for its inspiration.

§ 2

HIGH CHURCH SERVICES

No. 1. The church is so hidden by tall houses that were it not for an enamelled iron tablet affixed to the wall near the entrance to the side street in which it is situated, people passing along the main thoroughfare would not discover its existence. It is a spacious church inside, and everything about it suggests High Ritualism. As one enters a strong odour of incense is perceptible; on and above the altar are lighted candles illuminating an elaborate reredos, on which is a carved representation of the crucifixion; pictures of the stations of the cross and of the Virgin and Child hang upon the walls. The congregation on Sunday evening, apart from a surpliced choir of about thirty men and boys, may have numbered one hundred and twenty, divided roughly as follows: six young men and three older men, forty young women and twenty older women, and some fifty children. Most of the nine men seemed to have some allotted duty to perform. Of the children there were two parties, each in charge of a Sister, and in the other front pews sat a dozen or so of young women with another Sister in their midst—probably a guild. Two or three young women were evidently casual, but otherwise it was a regular congregation of working-class people, and some were of distinctly poor appearance. The service was fully choral, and the chants being familiar some of the congregation joined in with subdued voices. All knelt.

Entrance and exit of the clergy were made the occasions of much ceremonial on the part of choir and priests who, gorgeously robed, paraded the aisles with thurifer and crucifix, lighted candles and banners.

No. 2. For morning service the church was not quite though nearly full, but of the congregation about one hundred were boys from some Home. The others, though they showed no signs of poverty, neither did they show any of wealth. Most would be of working class or very little above that level, and this was especially the case with the men, of whom there were a considerable number. The service began with the Litany sung by a procession of the clergy and choir, which went very slowly round the church. First came the cross bearer, then the acolytes, next the priest in a cope, and then three *cantores* followed by the choir. The portion of the Litany usually taken by the priest was chanted by the *cantores*, the responses being given by the choir, the organ accompanying throughout. The effect was exceedingly beautiful. The Litany was followed by the Communion Service: the celebrant, of course, wore a chasuble, and there was some incense, but, as a whole, the service was much less ornate than at most High celebrations, and the whole effect was intensely reverential and religious.

No. 3. I attended High Mass at St. * * * * * *. When I arrived Matins was still on, and there were about thirty adults present with a number of children. After Matins a fair congregation came in, there might be from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, of whom not more than two-thirds were women: the sexes were separated, and the men certainly made a fairly good show. I had never been at Mass in the Church of England before, and even with a Prayer Book, owing to alterations and omissions, had the greatest difficulty in following. One of the objects is evidently to be unintelligible. Even when intoned loud, the whole thing becomes a sort of gibberish. Though listening intently I could only here and there distinguish a word of the Commandments, for instance, and but for these stray words and the familiar responses of the choir, should not have known what was being recited. A large portion of the later part of the

service was gone through as in the Roman Catholic Mass, in a low tone that could only be heard by the priests and servers. There were three celebrating priests, all of course in vestments, with candles, crosses, incense, &c., in fact, no different from a Roman Catholic Mass.

The congregation was very reverent and evidently, for the most part, composed of habitual attendants, as they all knew when to cross, kneel, &c. For instance, all knelt during part of the Nicene Creed . . . . .

No. 4. I visited St. * * * * * * on a blusterous showery morning not favourable to church going. When I reached the church at 10.45 Matins were on, and the female side of the church was already almost full, but on the male side there was only a sprinkling. The service was decently and reverently given, with full choir and organ, not merely run through for the sake of compliance with the law as at St. * * * * * * * or St. * * * * * * *. High Mass began at 11.15 (in the magazine it is called 'Eucharist,' but in the announcements in the church the word 'Mass' was always used). The vicar was the celebrant, assisted by the deacon and sub-deacon, all arrayed in the correct vestments. The service was of the usual advanced character, including all the 'six points' and several extra ones; but was in some respects less extreme than some we have attended. The whole of the English communion service was audibly given and, beyond hymns, nothing was added (except, of course, the private devotions of the priests), and three lay members of the congregation communicated.

During the Mass the female side of the church was full, and the male side well filled, but not full. The congregation was socially very mixed, and certainly not of the rich. Among the men were a good many obviously of working class, and top hats were the exception; among the women the signs of dressiness were unusually few, and the impression was of lower middle and working class. The demeanour of the people was reverent, as it always is in the extreme churches. The sermon was entirely uninteresting. At the conclusion of the service we sang the following defiant hymn, with its distinctly inconsequent, but very English, last verse of concession

(or afterthought). Thus may we hope to avoid fire and faggot:—

Faith of our Fathers! living still,
In spite of dungeon, fire and sword,
O how our hearts beat high with joy
Whene'er we hear that glorious word;
Faith of our Fathers! Holy Faith!
We will be true to thee till death!

Our Fathers chained in prisons dark
Were still in heart and conscience free:
How sweet would be their children's fate,
If they, like them, could die for thee.
Faith of our Fathers! Holy Faith!
We will be true to thee till death!

Faith of our Fathers! Faith and prayer
Shall win our country back to thee;
And through the truth that comes from God,
England shall then indeed be free.
Faith of our Fathers! Holy Faith!
We will be true to thee till death.

Faith of our Fathers! we will love
Both friend and foe in all our strife:
And preach thee too, as love knows how,
By kindly words and virtuous life.
Faith of our Fathers! Holy Faith!
We will be true to thee till death.

§ 3

NONCONFORMISTS

No. 1. *A Wesleyan Church.*

The building has not a very attractive exterior, but its big doors stood invitingly open, and brightness and warmth reigned within; the windows being of coloured glass, and walls and pillars nicely coloured. A broad gallery runs round three sides, whilst at the top end is a very good organ, in front of which the choir of thirty or so sit on raised tiers, and immediately in front of them again is the minister's desk. The person conducting the service is thus in immediate touch with his choir; appears, indeed, to be 'supported' by them on either hand, and is in a very good position to command the congregation. When I entered service had just begun; a hymn was being sung with vigour and volume. The place was about three parts full—eight hundred people I should guess—and many were evidently of decent working class. Mr. W——, who led the service, has a rather high-pitched voice, and can be very distinctly heard in all parts of the edifice. He read and expounded the lesson for the first Sunday after Easter simply, but warily, making no comment on such passages as 'Whose soever sins ye forgive are forgiven.' After another hymn came prayer, with special reference to McNeil's Mission, which was then going on. After this came a long list of announcements and appeals. A special effort was to be made for clearing off the debt and some other objects, and every member of the church was to make it his bounden duty to collect at least 5*s*, boxes and cards being supplied. The begging part was very long, and the appeal very direct, and the amount asked was led up to in something of a Dutch auction fashion. 'He wasn't going to ask for £5 each, and they would not be called upon for £2, though at such and such a place this had been got by the members. Many would laugh at the amount he asked—children would think nothing of getting it, and all who could get double were not to forget to do it—doubtless they could, &c., &c.; leading up to the stating of the amount—5*s*—as a climax. The announce-

ments included class meetings, choir meetings, &c., and special stress was laid on McNeil's services at the Agricultural Hall. *Every* member of the church was to make a special point of going to these meetings *every* week-night (except their own class night, when they must not desert their own church), and take an unconverted friend with them. Finally came the announcement of the offertory, and everyone was enjoined to remember that they were giving to the Lord.

No. 2. *Congregational.*

Mr. A * * * * * has been pastor of this chapel for five years. Owing to the moving away of the richer class, from whom it was drawn, the congregation had dwindled to almost none in the morning and perhaps one hundred in the evening. Mr. A * * * * * has got together an almost entirely new congregation. He is himself a man of the lower middle class—forcible and rather rough—a strong Liberal, and perhaps Radical, with democratic ideas throughout. There are no rich in the neighbourhood: some shopkeepers and some well-to-do artisans, but the bulk of the population are ordinary wage-earners—warehousemen, porters, labourers, &c. The congregation is a fair sample, and is so organized as to touch more or less the whole population by visiting and distributing the monthly magazine. No one is paid, except the minister. There are fifty district visitors, all drawn from the people themselves, and among them they call at three thousand houses every month to deliver the magazine and go in where they may be welcomed. They are generally kindly received everywhere. Mr. A * * * * * meets the visitors regularly, and they report to him. This work seems to be his basis. He claims that they have drawn the congregation from those who went nowhere—recognised no denomination. They did not attempt or desire to draw from other bodies. As with other Congregationalists, one feels that the Church is a vivifying influence, enlarging the life of its members, and binding them together in the acknowledgment of common religious notions. Mr. A * * * * * 's church is an example of 'democratic religion.' It is run by the people for the people in the name of Christ.

No. 3. *A large Evangelical Mission.*

. . . . . At a service for 'men only' the absence of reverential feeling was accentuated by the familiar and jocular style of the leader in giving out his long list of announcements. A certain great evangelist preacher had consented to come to them for twelve evenings, and he asked for volunteers to distribute bills; no one could say he could not do this; 'any fool' could give out bills: the object was to persuade those to attend who usually went nowhere; Christian friends would crowd of their own accord to hear this favourite preacher. He also announced that next Sunday afternoon the 'men's own' was to be open for once to the other sex, 'who might like to know what we were up to' (laughter). 'Men could bring their wives or sweethearts, but the invitation was not limited to ladies who had a husband or a sweetheart; all were invited; they could come alone—perhaps they might pick one up' (much laughter).

No. 4. *A small undenominational Mission.*

Mr. B * * * * * is a young man employed in a large draper's shop. He has been connected with this mission for eighteen months. There are no paid agents; all who work there, twenty-five in number, being employed at the same shop. On the Wednesday when I was there, about thirty people were present at the commencement of the service; most were poor women, scantily and shabbily clad; a few lads of sixteen or seventeen were there, and girls also of the same class: besides these there were three poor men. For so small a mission much relief is given, and in a way that would not meet with the approval of the Charity Organization Society. The Sunday morning breakfasts commence about November and continue to March; they attract one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty men each morning. The meal lasts from 9 to 10, and is followed by a short service from 10 to 11. The men are invited by tickets. Mr. B * * * * * gives nearly all the tickets to men who look as if they needed a meal; often he knows nothing of the man: he thinks the majority are deserving, but admits that in most cases they are poor through their own folly

or vice. Occasionally some come to the Sunday morning service, and those who get to know him will ask for money for lodging. Further relief in the district is given by the Bible-class Aid Society. 'The relief of this Society,' we are told, 'is dispensed through the medium of bread, coal, grocery and meat: in this way an opportunity has been afforded for personal conversation and a greater influence is brought to induce them to attend the gospel services held at the mission hall.'

No. 5. *Salvation Army.*

The citadel contains a large hall, seating about six hundred, and a small one used by the juniors, which will hold three hundred children. There are three other rooms. The captain and lieutenant in charge are entitled to 18*s* and 15*s* a week respectively if the funds suffice for this, but as a rule they do not, and up to 15*s* they divide equally; last week each had 14*s* 6½*d*. Looking through the book I saw that it was very exceptional for the full amount to be received; the sum was often under 10*s* each. The captain is a young man, thin and wiry, very active in mind and body, and has been here seven months. He said that they sometimes have to go short, but never actually want for food. 'God provides for them wonderfully.' They have sometimes to go shabby as to clothes, but never for long.

I cannot but admire these young men. They live very hardly and work hard. The corps consists of eighty-one soldiers and twelve recruits, with a junior corps of twenty-seven members. Meetings are held as follows:—

On Sunday:

Seniors	7 A.M.	'Knee drill' (Prayer meeting)	Attendance about 25
	11 A.M.	'Holiness meeting' (Bible teaching)	,, 60
	3 P.M.	'Free and Easy' (Testimony)	,, 60
	7 P.M.	Salvation meeting . .	,, 150
Juniors	10 A.M.	Spiritual talk by one of the elders.	,, 25
	3 P.M.	Sunday school, of which the classes are termed 'companies' and the teachers 'leaders'	,, 75
	6 P.M.	Ditto ditto . . .	,, 80
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On Week-days:

Seniors	Monday,	8 P.M.	Limelight address or something special.	Attendance about 90
	Tuesday,	,,	Holiness meeting .	,, 50
	Wednesday,	,,	Testimony and praise	,, 40
	Thursday,	,,	Salvation meeting—with readings .	,, 45
	Friday,	,,	Holiness meeting .	,, 50
	Saturday,	,,	Testimony meeting .	,, 70
Juniors	Tuesday, 6.30 P.M.		Band of Love. Children supposed to pay 1*d* per month, but do not do this regularly. Pledge given is similar to Band of Hope, but more comprehensive, including kindness to dumb animals; they agree not to drink intoxicants, nor smoke, nor swear, nor steal. Consent of parents is obtained . . .	,, 25
	Friday, 6.30 P.M., Junior soldiers' meeting			,, 15

Open-air meetings: Sunday, 10 a.m., 2 and 6 p.m., and Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday evenings, 7 or 7.15 p.m.

The outdoor meetings are held in different parts of the district—except that on Saturday and Sunday evenings they always resort to the same pitches. The more they can take with them the more people collect round. They have a brass band of eighteen performers, meeting for practice on Wednesday. The captain spoke with enthusiasm of the self-denial shown by these men. They went out all day on Sunday, generally in full strength, and on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, if only half of them turned up, it was because they worked late.

§ 4

NOTES OF A WALK ON NEW YEAR'S EVE

I started at about 11.15 p.m., intending to make my way to Somers Town, but looked in at two or three places of worship on my way. At a Baptist chapel I found a congregation of sixty or seventy people, and a young man speaking on the vicarious nature of Christ's sacrifice, with tone and gesture that would have been well suited to a vestry election meeting. It was not very

edifying, but the effect was improved by the quiet singing of a hymn. The minister presided. The congregation was mostly composed of those who looked like regular worshippers, but scattered among them were some who had strayed in to bid good-bye to the Old Year in what was evidently a strange environment. Passing onwards, I called in at the chapel of a Boys' Home. Here, too, there was a service, but only twenty or thirty had come to it—a quiet little middle-class gathering. In the road outside a well-dressed woman, quite drunk, disappeared in the distance, and I imagined that in her I had a premonition of the scenes of excess that I expected awaited me in the more disreputable quarter of Somers Town.

At the Salvation Army Hall, to which I had gone on Christmas-day, I found a congregation of very much the same size and character as had gathered then, but there were many fewer soldiers on the platform and the people looked very tired. A Sister was speaking—she to whose urgent prayer I had listened a few days before. The address was a pleading and an invitation, and held me as well as her hearers. It was not until the end that the fire blazed up, but at that point, when addressing herself especially to young men, she told them with simple directness that if they rejected Christ and did evil, hell would await them. The same officer was presiding as on Sunday, but he, poor fellow, looked as tired as the rest, and I could not wait to see if he introduced the brighter touch into the service that he had certainly done on Christmas-day. While the Sister was speaking an almost painful eagerness and strain pervaded the meeting, but I was left with the impression, which Salvation Army gatherings have always given me, that they are centres of much earnestness of purpose and goodness of life. From here I got as quickly as possible to Somers Town, so as to reach St. Mary's if possible before midnight, which I succeeded in doing; but the church was closed and dark: there had been no service. At the Roman Catholic Church in Clarendon Square, where there had been a midnight service on Christmas-eve, I thought I might find the typical New Year's congregation that I had still to seek; but here again I found an empty building.

I went on into Chalton Street, arriving there just about 12 o'clock. The street market was only lingering on, but there were many people about, and, at the moment, 1899 was being vociferously welcomed with shouts and cries, with cheers, and the singing of Auld Lang Syne, and above all, perhaps, by the clanging of tins and the loud striking of the butchers' barrows and boards. Altogether, it was a most extraordinary din, but it was all very uproarious and very good natured, with much hand-shaking and wishing of a Happy New Year and not many signs of excessive drinking.

I looked in for a minute at Christ Church to find a small congregation—perhaps eighty to one hundred; the general effect dull and depressing, especially so perhaps by way of contrast with the hearty, noisy scene outside. By Chapel Street I passed into Ossulston Street and went down the entrance to York Place to see if chronic squalor relieved itself on this night of the year with a debauch. But the court was in complete silence; lights at a few of the windows alone telling that it was occupied. At a few minutes after twelve I reached the Presbyterian Church, and here at last found the crowded New Year's congregation of my imagination. But even here, although a number of people were standing near the doors, there were a good many seats in the gallery not occupied. At first I went in down stairs, and the impression given was of an orderly and ordinary congregation. Later I proceeded up stairs and found myself at once in the motley group that the occasion is reputed to attract to the sanctuary. The crowd was a strangely mixed one, many being the regular folk that one might expect to find there any Sunday. But many others were obviously strangers, and some were those whose church-goings were probably not more than events of annual occurrence. There were noisy girls who found the occasion amusing, but there were others, both men and women, of the poorer and more miserable type—evidently:

> From a certain squalid knot of alleys
> Where the town's bad blood [still] slept corruptly.

And some of these were inclined to take their unwonted experience with a certain touch of resentment and

ribaldry. One couple were especially noticeable, the husband, somewhat in liquor, accompanying the preacher's remarks with a running commentary of his own, not very complimentary or choice in phrasing. One thing alone seemed to satisfy him, and that was the preacher's remark that at no future time was he likely to be face to face with his present audience. 'That is b—— certain,' said the man, 'you spoke a true word that time.' But a few minutes later, when the people were singing, and we stood side by side, he was conscious of his past indecorous conduct, and shook me by the hand, with the promise that he would be there on the following evening 'with my Bible under my arm and my hymnbook in my pocket.' He was a muscular, full-blooded ruffian of thirty-five or forty. His wife, during his little outbreaks, was half angry, half fearful lest he should be turned out. She was conscious of the occasion, and in her badly scarred face it was easy to detect the desire for the moment to be quiet and subdued.

The address consisted largely of exhortations to live a better life in the coming year, to come to chapel again that same evening (it was now Sunday morning), &c.: every single sentence plain, if disconnected, and every word could be heard. Towards the close of his remarks the minister asked the people to say after him the words: 'Lord Jesus, I promise that henceforth I will love and follow Thee.' There was a murmer of response through the chapel, but it was by no means general. I watched most of the people leaving and they appeared to be largely representative of the regular habitués; perhaps one fourth were quite poor and essentially strangers within the gate. The regular people could be recognised by the greetings that were exchanged. Perfect order prevailed; and the large crowd rapidly scattered homewards. Tracts were being given away, and a beautiful illuminated card bearing the text of the evening, was being sold for a penny.

On my way home, although I met two or three groups of young fellows a little gay and noisy, I saw no one really drunk, and the only approach to bad temper was in a group of four women at the corner of a street, two of whom were spitting at each other and

threatening blows. But they parted with nothing worse than angry and unpleasant words, For the rest, if there were any noise, it was just singing and good wishes. The worst sight I saw was the well-dressed woman who staggered away in the better class road.

The small proportion of the people of Somers Town who appeared to be attending any religious service was striking. It does not appear that attendance at these New Year's services is by any means the almost universal custom we have been led to suppose.

§ 5

VARIOUS OPINIONS, ETC.

(1) *A Schoolmaster's evidence.*

Mr. D * * * * * is a man of volcanic energy, pleasant bright face and dancing eyes, full of enthusiasm for his work, and with a tremendous idea of the importance of the schoolmaster's mission. His influence over his assistant teachers and the children under his care must be very great. The dullest, the idlest and the most apathetic must be stirred to some extent by contact with a spirit so keen and vivacious. He came up to London as assistant teacher eighteen years ago, and at first thought it a damnable place, and determined that nothing should induce him to stop more than a year or two; but he was soon gripped and fascinated. He rose to be head-master, has occupied that post at two East London schools successively, and is justly proud of the way in which he has worked up these two schools, which before his time were miserably inefficient. In both cases he brought the attendances up from about 65 to 95 per cent.

At his present school about forty free dinners a day are provided during winter, and a few old boots and clothes are given away, and there is a Christmas tea party. During the summer, Mr. W * * * * * takes about forty boys to the Forest every Saturday, and they ramble into the woods. These excursions are a prize for regularity

and punctuality. He reports that the discipline in schools has greatly improved; in the old days it was a constant fight for authority; now not so. Free education has helped both discipline and attendance. The old system of remission was demoralizing both to children and parents.

There was (he said) too common a tendency in the world to dwell on the gospel of 'getting on'; but the influence of the teachers, if not always religious in the dogmatic sense, is so in the higher sense; with few exceptions, they are a great moral influence, and, as a matter of fact, the majority attend some place of worship.

(2) *A Bible Christian's view of the Attitude of Christian Churches in London.*

'The Church of Christ has been a great deal too eager to use doubtful means to get hold of the people; they have been pandered to and fed with sops and doles; they don't seem to understand that you are concerned with their souls; they don't want to see you unless you have something to give them; the children, too, in the Sunday schools are inoculated with the same ideas. It was not so in the North. In Lancashire the people were independent and would have scorned such treatment.' Still, he was hopeful of genuine gospel preaching: 'After all we have got the Message the world wants, and if it is even only fairly delivered it is bound to tell.'

(3) *A Wesleyan's view of Wesleyanism in London.*

Aggressive work is left to the missions. The ordinary circuit church efforts are directed simply to keeping together the Wesleyans in the district: by the agency of these churches Wesleyanism, therefore, in London grows only by natural growth and by immigration from the country, the latter being the great source of growth. Compared to other parts of London, this (Outer West) is a most favourable ground for Wesleyanism, because it is a neighbourhood in which are settled a number of country people who have been brought up in the sect and stick to it when coming to London: but compared to the country, and especially to Cornwall, the people are far

less responsive. They would rather talk about the buying or building of houses than about religion: in Cornwall they will let you talk of nothing but religion; indeed, if you mentioned any other subject on Sunday they would be shocked. There, too, every member wants to do some work for his church: here, out of three hundred members, I doubt if fifty do anything for us: the rest may be very good people, but their outward religion does not extend beyond coming to church twice on Sunday: they seem shy of religion: they are just immersed in making a living and a little bit over. The change in the countryman when he comes to London is great: even if he keeps up religious observances, his interest becomes much less keen: he becomes a mere item in a crowd instead of known to everybody, and he finds that the current is against religious observance.

(4) *A Scotch Presbyterian's view.*

The Scotch in London, both rich and poor, are more careful of religious observance than the bulk of the population; a large number, however, lapse from Presbyterianism. Sometimes the rich, from snobbish motives, attach themselves to Episcopalianism directly they come to London, but more often the lapse is among the young people, who having a lighter grasp of their faith, and less respect for tradition, are more easily driven away by a 'fossil minister' or some other cause: the character of a Church depends so almost entirely on the personality of the minister, rather than on the service as in the Church of England, that, given an inadequate minister, the temptations to Scotch people to go elsewhere are great, and it is even surprising that the Scotch Presbyterian churches are so successful as they are in London, especially in view of the rapid Anglicising of Scotch society. But those who leave never go to Ritualistic churches, at any rate at first. They begin with the Evangelical.

The attitude of the Scotch working class in London to religion is very different from that of the English working class. They are seldom, if ever, victims of the indifference, born of ignorance, which is the attitude of the English working man. The Scotchman has always

thought the matter out. Often he is an agnostic or an atheist, but could always give an intelligent reason for the faith, or want of faith, which is in him. On the whole, religious observance is more common amongst the Scotch workmen than amongst their English *confrères*. They have all been nourished on theology.

(5) *How to Speak to Working Men.*

'I strive to be true: truth and sympathy are much more effective than laboured simplicity: many of the words I use they do not understand; but if you are truthful and sincere they get the drift of it: that is why the spoken Word is so powerful. What a man would quite fail to follow in reading, he will grasp through sympathy with the speaker.'

(6) *How to interest the Poor.*

Mr. C * * * * * told us that when building his church he got a number of the poor to contribute a penny a week, and they at once began to speak of 'our church,' and remained devoted adherents. 'It is a great mistake,' he thinks, 'to plant a church merely by outside funds; you must secure the interest of the residents by inducing them to contribute something, however small.'

(7) *Diary of a Scripture Reader.*

"16, Alfred Street, Mrs. A * * * * *, Roman Catholic; had talk with her; also with another person in same house who attends * * * * * * Mission, and said she was brought up from childhood to go to church, and that she knew all about the Bible from beginning to end.

"7, Alfred Street, Mrs. B * * * * *; still very ill; had talk with her; says she is quite ready to depart when God calls her.

"5, Appleton Square, Mrs. C * * * * *, invited her to church; says that her husband does not attend, and does not like her to be out when he is at home.

"Had conversation with man at hairdresser's in Bentham Street. He is a careless and drinking man, yet he said that he was quite prepared to die, and feared nothing. Spoke to him of the foundation upon which we must build our hopes.

"18, Cranford Square. Had conversation with man

here who professes not to believe in the Scriptures; says one part contradicts another, but he could not point to me the parts. He declined to continue the conversation, saying that religion was all rubbish.

"28, Cranford Square, Mrs. D * * * * *, widow; works hard for her living, but seems to treat religious matters with indifference; says she could not give her mind to it, she has so many things to think about.

"13, Cranford Square, Mrs. E * * * * *. Had conversation on duty of attending place of worship. Could not attend, she said, because of young family. [This is an incessant entry.]

"Had conversation with Mr. F * * * * *, at corn-chandler's, upon subject of need of attending means of grace. He thought that taking a quiet walk on Sundays, and viewing the works of Nature, was as well as going to church.

"48, Dumbell Road, Mrs. G * * * * *. She never attends, but makes various excuses. I spoke of the need of preparing for the future. All I said was perfectly true, she said; she knew that she ought to attend to these things. I told her of the greater condemnation to those who knew God's will, and did it not.

"55, Dumbell Road, Mrs. H * * * * *. Had conversation upon spiritual matters. Is rather sceptical; sometimes, she said, she thinks there is a heaven, and sometimes she thinks there is not, but she certainly did not believe there is a hell. She does not attend place of worship; they generally have some music at home, which she thinks is as good as going to church.

"22, Dumbell Road. Had conversation with person here upon subject of closing business on Sundays. She did not see her way clear to do so, she said; Sundays they did more than other days, and she thought there was no harm in trying to put by a little for the future. I spoke of the value of the soul, and how unwise to neglect it for the sake of earthly gain.

"38, Elwyn Street, Mr. I * * * * *. Had conversation with this man, who said that when we die, that is the end of us; he did not believe in a future state, and he thought nothing more was required of us than to be as good as we can.

"40, Elwyn Street, Mrs. J * * * * *. Had conversation of spiritual kind. She felt that it was too hard to lead a Christian life. She had tried once and then gave it up.

"2, Alfred Street. Had long talk with Mrs. K * * * * *. She said she believed when we die it is the end of us. She had made up her mind to believe that, and nothing could knock it into her brain to believe anything different. I read some passages of Scripture upon the Resurrection, but she seemed determined in her unbelief.

"40, Elwyn Street, Mr. L * * * * *. Had long conversation with him. He prided himself that he was a man of his word, and if he said he would do a thing he would do it, and *vice versâ;* and he had said that he would not go to church, and he would keep to his promise.

"28, Elwyn Street, Mr. M * * * * *. Had talk with him, and invited him to men's Bible-class. He thought religion was good for children, but he didn't see what men wanted to go to Bible-classes for.

"34, Elwyn Street, Mr. N * * * * *. Called about daughter's confirmation. Had long talk with him. He is really an infidel, and ridicules many of the truths of the Bible, such as the fall of Adam and Eve, and the Resurrection, and called it all 'a beautiful hallucination.'

"8, Alfred Street, Mrs. O * * * * *. Spoke with this person upon duty of going to church. She knew it was a right thing to do, she said, but she would like to act up to it if she made a profession of being a Christian.

"11, Bentham Street, Mrs. P * * * * *. Drinks to a great extent, and declares she would not give up her half-a-pint for any consideration, yet would like her husband, who also drinks, to give it up.

"26, Frank Street. Had long talk with man here upon subject of attending place of worship. Says he is obliged to work on Sundays, and it appears to him to be inconsistent to go from church to work."

§ 6

NOTES OF A DISTRICT VISITOR

The *Causes of London Poverty* are—

(1) Drunkenness; involving unpunctuality, loss of work, idleness, gambling, discomfort at home, less food, &c.
(2) Sickness; of this three-fourths comes from the constant taking of impure stimulants, and, as regards the sober poor, from ignorance of all health laws.
(3) Overcrowding and early marriages.
(4) Almsgiving and relief. These given injudiciously work incalculable harm, and undermine self-respect.

Pawnshops and public-houses are generally placed near each other; and a careful observation, when living near them, revealed the fact that in eight cases out of nine the woman will pass from the pawnshop to the public-house, and spend there part of the money she has just received.

The poverty of the home, furniture, clothing, food, &c., bears no relation to the amount of earnings. Very tidy homes and children are found where wages are only 18*s*, and often where not more than £1; and the greatest misery and destitution where man and wife are earning 30*s* or 35*s* a week. *There is money enough.* Painters, bricklayers, and others earning about 45*s*, will usually take either spirits or beer at 9.30, at 11, at dinner, at 3, and at supper. One shilling daily spent in this way is quite usual, and Saturdays and Sundays more. This is the voluntary statement given by a painter.

Most of the 'out of work' results from drink or ill-health, and these result from being brought up in a crowded, unventilated home, and living on unsuitable food; or from obstinate self-will, developed by the mother not knowing how to teach her child to obey.

Liberal out-relief and large endowed charities draw the expectant idle poor into any district, and thus that district becomes poorer. Free shelters do the same, and increase the poverty by drawing a number of idle together, who strengthen each other in their idleness, and possibly crime.

Remedies for Poverty—

(1) Fewer public-houses and Sunday evening closing, to remove temptation a little out of the way.

(2) More comfortable homes; better landlords, caring for the tenants; better mothers, able to take advantage of better houses at lower rents; wives and mothers who care for their homes, who do not go out to work, who can cook, manage, and keep clean.

(3) Education.

These will pave the way for the higher and truer remedy of religious influence. The work of the clergy and the enormous network of visitors is doing much, very much; the coming in contact with refined, educated ladies every week, must have great influence even where no religious results are apparent; but all the work is marred, and its possibilities destroyed, by overcrowded homes and many public-houses.

One result of education is that a girl or boy of sixteen or seventeen acquires a desire to write, draw, carve, or read in the evenings, or a girl may want to make a dress; but in the crowded home—table full of food and crockery, noise rampant, lamp high on the shelf to be out of baby's reach—all these occupations are quite impossible. Or both boy and girl may save their earnings to buy a decent Sunday suit; but in the crowded home there is no place to keep the clothes. They hang on the door in the dust, or get tumbled on the bed and spoilt by the little children. This leads to pawning. They prefer to spend the evening in the street, and their money at a music-hall, and both girl and boy decide very early to marry and have a home of their own.

A girl marries at seventeen; often finds her health fast breaking down when she is only twenty-five; energy goes, home and children get dirty and neglected; she takes a glass of beer, which seems to help her on, but brings greater drowsiness after, and so more misery and more discomfort creep in. The man finds no comfort, and spends his evenings and wages at the pub. The children are weak and sickly, and grow up ready to catch any disease, and this poor mother, who married at seventeen, is often a confirmed invalid and prematurely old before she is thirty-six.

The present crowding and sub-letting, the scanty supply of sanitary accommodation, the sleeping in basements, the homes without oven or boiler, no cupboard for food,

for coals, for clothes: these things that help so tremendously to create poverty, sickness, drink, &c., could not exist if the owners visited personally at intervals, and employed a better class of agent.

To the owners of poor houses in London an appeal needs making.

The owner leaves the management to his solicitor, who either sends over weekly a young inexperienced clerk, or more often engages a small greengrocer or small tradesman close on the spot, to collect rents and let the rooms. This man, eager to keep his post, is anxious to *get the money*, and cares little as to overcrowding, or character of tenants, or need of repairs. This results, finally, in repairs costing the landlord nearly double, and the living in overcrowded rooms, out of repair, developes the most dreadful, dirty, untidy, unwholesome habits. This very often brings fever or sickness, and finally tenants leave, unable to pay (it is impossible for them to pay rent after weeks of sickness). The sanitary inspector orders complete repairs, redecoration, &c., and the owner, while having it done at the cheapest possible rate, finds the houses *not* profitable, and probably says rents must be raised, or the local agent thinks it well to please the owner by putting on another 1*s*, or by letting the house to more families.

Owners of poor houses, if unable to visit them personally at intervals, should employ as collectors educated, thoughtful people, who will take a *moderate* rent, insist alike on its payment, and upon due cleanliness; who will keep all in good repair, and *absolutely forbid all sub-letting*.

A family occupying three rooms at 5*s* can afford to keep the home tidily. With room to move about in, there is far less temptation to frequent the 'pub,' especially if there is an oven where a tasty meal can be cooked, and the *rent will be paid*. A house of three floors, let at 4*s*, 5*s*, and 5*s*, will yield 14*s*, the owner paying rates and taxes. But if these floors are let at 5*s* 6*d*, 7*s*, and 6*s* 6*d* = 19*s*, this is the result: the basement will have a large family, and both the little kitchen at back, and front room, will have to be sleeping and day rooms. The tenants of the other floors, on any pressure from illness or loss of work,

at once let the off room at 1*s* 6*d* a week, and possibly the back room at 2*s* 6*d*, thus reducing their own rent to 2*s* 6*d* or 3*s*, and adding greatly to the wear and tear, to the risk of loss of rent, and to damage of all appliances. The small backyard, washhouse, dustbin, water supply, &c., is adapted for one family, and is being used by six or seven separate families—result: quarrels and sickness. A house let in this way often absorbs all the rent in the enormous amount of repairs, loss from bad tenants, &c. If the law insisted on a separate water-tap for each tenant, the enormous evils of sub-letting would have a wholesome check. When a tired mother has to fetch water up two or three flights of stairs, not too much is used; and if it stands long, it absorbs many impurities before it is drunk, and so sows the seeds of illness. Illness means 'can't pay the rent,' and the owner has to bear the loss.

In the course of two or three years, the house let at 14*s* a week will give far higher profit than the one producing 19*s*.

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